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ABSTRACT

A collection of 32 conference papers is presented as reflecting the state of the art in contrastive linguistics studies of English and other languages. The reports cover the following topics: 5 English contrastive projects (Romanian-English, Yugoslav-Serbo-Croatian English, English-Hungarian, and Finnish-English analysis, and a project from the International Hasselt Conference); 8 papers on approaches to contrastive linguistics in such areas as negation, interrogation, emphasis, perceptual constraints and pronominal modification, breadth and "factual" analysis, valence theory, the semantics of false pair analysis, modality and speech acts, and intonation in languages including German and Romanian; 11 papers concerning analysis of syntax and semantics in languages including Romanian, Mandarin Chinese, and Slavic languages as a group; and 8 papers on lexicology and error analysis in areas such as pluralization, singularization, countability, numericalization, verb derivation, deceptive cognates, codes in computing technology texts, Romanian and English stops, and prosodic elements in languages including Romanian, German, Russian and Hungarian. (MSE)

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THE ROMANIAN ENGLISH
CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS PROJECT
Director : Prof. **DUMITRU CHIŢORAN, Ph. D.**

2-nd
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF ENGLISH CONTRASTIVE PROJECTS

(BUCHAREST, 20—23 NOVEMBER, 1975)

EDITED BY
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PREFACE

The present volume contains the reports and papers presented at the Second International Conference of the English Contrastive Analysis Projects, held in Bucharest on 20—23 November, 1975.

It is significant to note, when comparing this conference to the previous one, held in Zagreb four years earlier (December 5—7, 1970), that, despite, or more aptly said, precisely because of the prolongued controversial discussions with regard to the status of contrastive analysis, this field of research in applied linguistics has made full proof of its perennity and validity.

Naturally, during this lapse of time, the scope and areas of investigation, as well as the line of approach to contrastive analysis have undergone noticeable changes, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

The present volume reflects, we think, the current state of research in the field: while there is a slight prevalence of more theoretically inclined papers, (included in the section "Approaches to Contrastive Linguistics"), the volume covers a wide range of topics in contrastive analysis (syntax and semantics, morphology, lexicology, psycholinguistics and error analysis). They all point to the co-existence within the province of contrastive linguistics of various, sometimes even divergent, standpoints and "trends". This variety is determined, we think, by the very complexity and vastness of the field under study; its positive aspect lies in the fertile ground it offers for further debates and the stimulation of tentative efforts to work out one or several models of contrastive grammar.

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As mentioned earlier, most of the contributions evince a prevailingly theoretical concern: a smaller number, however, tackle more practical matters, with a view to improving foreign language teaching, which remains the ultimate, though not the only aim of contrastive linguistics.

THE EDITOR

Bucharest, May 1976

Editor's Note

The volume contains thirty-two of the papers delivered at the Conference. Unfortunately, two contributions, those of Prof. J. Fisiak and Prof. K. Bausch, could not be included because the manuscripts were not available.

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I.
REPORTS

REPORT ON THE ROMANIAN-ENGLISH CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS PROJECT *

DUMITRU CHIŢORAN

1. Introduction

The time that has elapsed since the inception of the Romanian-English Contrastive Analysis Project, some six years ago, has witnessed many changes in emphasis, in methodology of approach and, indeed, in the very scientific status of contrastive linguistics as a branch of applied linguistics. The Romanian-English Contrastive study has not merely reflected these changes, it has also contributed to the promotion of at least one important trend, namely the adoption of a psycholinguistic approach in the analysis.

It is obviously very difficult to present exhaustively a research activity which extends over a long period of time and includes individual contributions by many researchers of different linguistic persuasions. The goal of the present report is to make a brief survey of the main areas of contrastive analysis of English and Romanian that have been coivered thus far and to point out the main findings of these studies.

Over and above differences in individual approach, the following general characteristics hold for the Romanian-English Contrastive Analysis Project (RECAP):

— first, the decidedly applied character of the research: emphasis has always been placed on the pedagogical value of the studies, by pointing out the areas of contrast in the linguistic structures of English and Romanian which are believed to present problems for the Romanian learners of English, and by postulating an adequate teaching methodology to be adopted in order to overcome these difficulties;

— second, the systematic corroboration of the findings of contrastive studies with findings resulting from error analysis. In this manner what has been referred to as contrastive studies *in abstracto* (T. Slama-Cazacu 1971) have pointed to experimental observations under the form of error elicitation and analysis, while error analysis has in its turn

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* The report is based on information supplied by the heads of the various research teams of the Romanian-English Contrastive Analysis Project. On the whole, the main goal has been to provide information which had not been included in previous Reports on the Project published elsewhere.

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suggested topics to be more thoroughly looked into within a theoretical framework ;

— third, in keeping with the present-day trends in the study of language, and given the very complex nature of foreign language learning, we have always tried to draw as much as possible from related and interrelated disciplines such as psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, semiotics etc.

— fourth, we have always believed that the task of contrastive linguistics is not only to borrow from theoretical linguistics, but also to bring its own contribution to the study of language in general ;

2. Methodology

The problem of the research methodology to be used was raised and amply debated during the preparatory phase of the project. Confronted with the inadequacies of traditional principles of contrastive linguistics, project researchers sought ways to overcome these shortcomings so as to better account for the omplex process of foreign language acquisition.

The theory proposed, referred to as *contact analysis*, emphasizes the psycholinguistic aspect of the process of foreign language acquisition and insists on the corroberation of the results of the 'purely' linguistic contrastive analysis by data obtained through the systematic observation of natural phenomena occurring in the process of foreign language teaching learning (Slama-Cazacu, T. and Chiţoran D. (1971) This has taken the form of experimental research in error analysis meant to lead to the setting up of a hierarchical system of errors made by Romanian learners in English (1975). For a more dynamic point of view in relation to the process of foreign language acquisition, Nemser's concept of approximative systems (W. Nemser, 1969) has been adopted as a working hypothesis.

Contrastive analysis and error analysis are therefore considered to be complementary rather than opposed to one another, in the sense that the result obtained and the predictions made by the contrastive grammar are to be checked against and corrected by the results obtained in the error analysis.

The grammar studies offer first and foremost typological and differential descriptions of the topics being analyzed. The description is based on whatever theory offers the best answer to the needs of the researcher. At the same time the activity of the worker in grammar is practically-oriented, not only because he focuses on what seem to him to be areas of difficulty for the learner but also because, on the basis of the contrastive description, he predicts possible errors. To that we should add the fact that, at least in some cases, the results of the analysis, have been given in the form of a transfer — differential grammar (as proposed by Harris), such a gramar representing a hypothesis on the process of learning. No claim can therefore be made according to which contrastive analysis is in a position to provide answers to all the problems raised by the learning of a foreign language.

It would, of course, be equally erroneous to claim that error analysis can provide such an answer. To begin with, error analysis is at least partially linguistic analysis and as such it has to be carried out using a certain linguistic model. It has been suggested that the choice of a theory should be made in terms of pedagogical value and suitability to the teaching situation. It is obvious, however, that immediate pedagogical returns cannot establish whether a theory of such a complex phenomenon as human language is linguistically or psychologically adequate. The choice of the model for error analysis proves to be all important, as we were recently able to verify by comparing the results obtained by two error analysis teams working on the same corpus : the results of the error analysis-starting with the very allocation of an error to the contrastive or non-contrastive set-significantly depend on the theoretical stand of the analyst. It is undoubtedly true that learners also make non-contrastive or non-predicted contrastive errors and that the teaching and learning situation is a lot more complex than it would appear in an "abstract" comparison of the two linguistic systems and that error analysis is a powerful means of getting a more adequate picture of what is going on in the learning process. At the same time there are areas of contrast which cannot be made obvious by a mere listing of errors not only because any corpus is limited, but also simply because the learner may avoid some type of construction which seem to him less clear, using a more familiar pattern.

We think that adequate teaching materials can be devised only by taking into account the contrastive grammar as well as the results of the error analysis. The format and the sophistication of these materials will depend on their future use.

3. Phonetics and Phonology

Most contrastive studies in the field of phonetics and phonology are based on a "classical" structuralist phonological theory, consisting in the identification and comparison of the phonological systems of English and Romanian and of the phonetic realization of their phonological variants. In the field of phonetics and phonology studies fall roughly into two major categories : theoretical and experimental.

3.1. *Theoretical studies*

Mention should first be made of the overall phonological system of English formulated by F. B. Agard (1970) in his lecture series on contrastive analysis offered at the University of Bucharest. V. Ştefănescu-Drăgănesti has contributed two studies : The first one (1971) is devoted to the consonant systems of English and Romanian and reveals the difficulties that a Romanian learner might be faced with in the pronounciation of certain English consonants as well as those confronting an English-speaking learner of Romanian. The author identifies phonemic, phonetic, allophonic and distributional difficulties which require particular attention in the practical process of foreign language teaching learning. His second study (1972) sets up a unitary vowel system of English for contrastive purposes. Since dialectal variation as well as difference between British and American English represent an additional source of difficulty in the teaching learning of English, a unitary vowel system is a necessary basis. The aim of the study is therefore "to set up the pedagogical phonemics and phonetics of English required in the teaching of its pronounciation" (1972 : 77).

Other aspects of English-Romanian contrastive phonology such as, for example, the structure of the syllable and problems of phonotactics have been dealt with by H. Pirlog : "*Some Remarks on Disyllabic Structures in English and Romanian*" (1973;) D. Buciumeanu-Grigorescu: "*The Phonological Structure of the Syllable in English and Romanian*" V. Ştefănescu-Drăgănesti : "*The Semantic Value of the Intonation of English Disjunctive Questions*", (to appear) etc.

3.2. *Experimental Studies*

The experimental studies in contrastive phonetics are concerned with the classroom observation of learners of English as well as with the examination of results obtained in language laboratory experiments.

In agreement with our general principle of providing a link between theoretical studies and the reality of the language class, a program of systematic observation and error analysis was initiated in the field of pronounciation as well. An interesting and well organized experiment was conducted by H. Pirlog (1972). The detailed comparison of the opposition in the English and Romanian vowel systems is a good example of contrastive analysis "in abstracto" followed by the "in discenti" examination of a certain domain.

An important contribution to the contrastive study of the sound structures of English and Romanian is the acoustic investigation conducted at the Center for Phonetics and Dialectology under the guidance of Dr. Andrei Avram. Experimental acoustic research was carried out on the front, central and back vowels (L. Dascălu, 1971, 1972), the consonants (A. Ulivi ,1973) the diphthongs and triphthongs (C. Cohuţ, 1973). and on intonational contours (A. Avram, 1973). Needless to say, these studies represent only first attempts at an acoustic investigation of the sound features of English and Romanian. Many other areas should be investigated such as the semivowels, stress and prominence, intonation, etc. It would be particularly interesting to ascertain the relevance of pitch in syllable prominence by means of acoustic measurements.

4. *The Grammatical Structures of English and Romanian*

The materials produced by the grammar group include a number of papers published in the various Bulletins of the Project (BRECAP), doctoral dissertations and student diploma papers, as well as papers read at various Project sessions, which have not yet been published.

An examination of the material existing in written form entitles us to say that the major task of the group — that of producing a systematic comparison of salient aspects of the grammar systems of

Romanian and English-has been largely accomplished and we are now in possession of a partial contrastive grammar of the two languages. Such a grammar meets a practical need : it provides the basis for more sophisticated and effective methods of teaching English to Romanians in addition to representing a contribution to theoretical linguistics, more specifically, to linguistic typology, as well as to the theory of grammar by putting to the test available descriptions and models of description of the languages under study and by attempting to construct a grammar which should be functional for both languages. The material that has been produced so far is to be evaluated from this two-sided perspective. At the same time, this double value of the research theoretical and applied — is the main source of difficulty in contrastive research, since it is not always the more elegant and theoretically more satisfying solution that offers a good starting point for the teaching activity or for the elaboration of teaching materials.

4.1. *The Corpus.* While for the purposes of elaborating a contrastive dictionary of English and Romanian a limited corpus was set from the start, no similar limitation vas imposed on the corpus to be used for the purpose of the grammatical description of the two languages. We came to the conclusion that a similar limitation within the grammatical description would be impracticable for several reasons :

a) the corpus used in the grammatical description cannot be a list of words ; it should be a list of sentences ;

b) in the morphophonological study, the limitation to a lexical corpus would have unaccountably left out a series of structures ;

c) the same limitation would have meant the creation in the grammatical studies of corpus sentences which ought to have contained the items of the lexical corpus exclusively or primarily. There was an obvious danger of obtaining on artificial kind of corpus.

Given this situation, the decision was made to work on a metalinguistic corpus consisting of the partial or general descriptions of English and Romanian that are available at present. The emphasis was thus laid on contrastive analysis proper rather than on the precontrastive state of the separate descriptions of the two languages. The linguistic corpus was consistently used to check or increase the date or the metalinguistic corpus. Often enough, the work included the partial or total elaboration of the description of some grammatical aspects or one of the languages under study because of the scarcity of the available material.

4.2. *Theoretical framework*

Research workers were free to select what they thought was the best suited method of research for their selected topic. An examination of the written sudies shows that most papers have been written in the transformational vein. This is a consequence of various linguistic and extralinguistic factors ; a) when the Project was launched it was believed that TG grammar offered a convenient way of stating the similarities and dissimilarities between two languages, using the DS as a *tertium comparationi* (cf. Theban, 1971) ; b) most of the researchers involved were young and eager to test the validity of this comparatively recent hypothesis on the structure of language and on the goals of linguistic theory.

Other studies have led to remarkable results using the translation method which proved to be extremely useful in the treatment of those Romanian or English tenses which have no specific equivalents in the other language. (Preda and Spăriosu 1972) ; A. Tașcă, E. Bîră, *The Romanian Equivalents of can and may* and *Means of expressing futurity in English and Romanian*, 1974). Other researchers have used the methods of traditional grammar (A. Bantaș, 1974). Sporadically, tagmemic analysis has also been employed (Mihai Zdrenghe — "*Structure of the Present Tense in English and Romanian*, 1972). More recently, researchers have had recourse to logical syntactic or semantic analysis finding ways of stating in a more explicit way certain structural differences between the two languages (T. Vasiliu — "*On the Meaning of Some Interrogative Particles in English and Romanian*", 1974).

It has not yet been decided which theoretical model will be selected for the elaboration of the synthesis volume. However, since most studies produced thus far are transformational, we envisage the adoption of this model (in one of its present-day forms).

4.3. *Topics covered and results obtained*

The Grammatical studies completed thus far cover a wide range of topics in the syntax and morphology of English and Romanian. Since the Project has no semantic or pragmatic component per se, a pertinent question is that of the part played by semantics in the elaboration of a contrastive grammar. The existing studies show that the researchers have used semantic analysis quite extensively.

We think that this is theoretically justifiable and practically necessary :

a) theoretically, recent literature shows that it is impossible to draw the line between syntax and semantics. In fact, one can distinguish several strategies for accounting for the interplay between syntax and semantics :

— allowing the semantic component to move on intermediate or surface structures (the lexicalist position), constructing sematically based grammars (this is the position adopted by Fillmore or by generative semanticists) ; or, keeping syntax and semantics distinct, but assuming that they are isomorphic and using semantic adequacy as an evoluation procedure for different syntactic analyses (as in a Montague grammar).

b) practically, semantic analysis is an obligatory requirement for studies dealing with prepositions, conjunctions or other closed sets. Thus, the syntax of prepositions as a *class* is highly similar in E and R ; difficulties relate to the distribution of each *individual* preposition and these cannot be properly stated without resorting to semantic analysis. Besides, semantic features are necessary in any accurate formulation of many syntactic rules (transformations, etc.).

4.4. *Contrastive Morphology*

Studies in this area have concentrated upon two important aspects : the morphemic structure of E and R and the morphological categories of E and R.

4.4.1. The morphemic structure of E and R is dealt with extensively in Belchiță (1972) The study represents a comprehensive presentation of the morphophonemic aspects of inflectional morphology in E and R. On the basis of the phonological systems of the two languages, the author states the rules governing the inflectional morphology of English and Romanian and sets up a number of noun and verb-classes in both languages, in terms of their inflectional properties. The morphological analysis of the noun and the verb system in R and E convincingly shows the more synthetical character of R as compared to E : R has more numerous classes with allomorphs which are morphologically, not phonologically conditioned.

Mihail Zdrenghe (1972) offers a tagmemic analysis of the form and function of the Present Tense forms in E and R. Again, the morphological lack of variation of E at the word level has consequences in the functioning of the Present Tense at clause level ; person and number information has to be given at the clause level by means of an obligatory (pro)nominal subject. By contrast, the morphologically richer R verb form contains person and number information in itself. Hence one important contrastive feature of E and R : obligatory subject in E vs optional subject in R, a feature which leads to frequent errors.

Studies on word formation have primarily discussed those patterns which are typical of one language only and which are apt to cause difficulty for the learner of the other language : complex verbs (compounds of the type "V+particle") offer an example (N. Tomoșoiu, 1974).

An important problem, which has received a great deal of attention in various studies is that of the syntactic consequences of the different morphemic structures of the two languages (Baciu, I, (to appear) and Boicescu, (to appear) Chițoran (1975), Cornilescu (1974). For instance one remark substantiated by the papers we have mentioned thus far is that R is often more rigid than E with respect to certain gapping and deletion rules, while being also less ambiguous.

4.4.2. The grammatical categories of *Tense* and *Aspect* have been given special attention, the use of the E tenses presenting difficulties even for advanced R learners.

The E tense system is difficult for the R learner because, although both languages can easily be described as having only two major tenses (Present and Past), the number of *tense forms* is widely different in the two languages. R has fewer tenses which are ambiguous to an important degree. Taking into account this fact, the contrastive studies aimed at : a) studying the elements of context (adverbs or semantic features of the predication) that might help disambiguate the R form (D. Spăriosu and I. Preda, 1972) ; b) describing the tense forms in each language in terms of a set of semantic features and establishing correspondences on this basis (a procedure adopted in Petrovanu-Cornilescu 1974) Needless to say the two techniques are not exclusive. As to the main differences characterizing the two tense systems they might be summarized as follows :

i) the R *Perfectul compus* which is a "Present Tense" and the E *Past Indefinite* which is a "Past Tense" have similar forms but highly different meanings. This is an extremely powerful source of error due to overgeneralization of one of these values ;

ii) the R *Present*, *Viitor* and *Perfect Compus* can express simultaneity, posteriority, anteriority not only with respect to the present moment but also with respect to a past moment (contained in a higher clause), and occasionally they substitute for the E *Past Tense*, *Future-in-the-Past*, or *Past Perfect*. Hence the (mistaken) assumption that R has no "sequence of tenses" rules ;

iii) the *Present* and *Imperfect* freely occur with expressions designating open periods of time *(for a week*, etc.) This accounts for the following correspondences wich represent another important source of errors ;

— *I've been studying English for three years now.*	— *Studiez engleza de trei ani*
— It had been raining for *three days.*	— *Ploua* de trei zile — *Plouase* timp de trei zile.

iv) the opposition [± durative] aspect, systematically marked in E *(be-ing)* is not overtly marked in R (with the exception of the *Perfect Simplu*, an always (— duration) tense. Almost all the other R forms are potentially anbiguous between a [± durative] interpetation. In deciding on the particular aspectual value of a tense in R, one has to take into account semantic features of the predication (i.e. whether the predication is

$$\begin{bmatrix} \pm \text{ countable} \\ \pm \text{ singular} \end{bmatrix}$$

e.g. Mary is reading	$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ countable} \\ + \text{ singular} \end{bmatrix}$	e.g. Maria citește
John goes to schooll everyday	$\begin{bmatrix} - \text{ countable} \\ - \text{ singular} \end{bmatrix}$	Ion merge zilnic la la școală.

v) in both languages, the various forms labelled 'future tenses' or future expressions combine temporal and aspectual values with certain modal values which have to be learned for each individual form (Bîră, 1974 b).

Next to tense and aspect, modality is the category which presents serious difficulties for Romanian learners. The problem has been dealt with in E. Bîră's Ph. D. dissertation : "*The Modal System of English and Romanian. A Contrastive Study*" (1975).

The study assumes the existence of a basic system of modality common to both languages, which can be realized in a variety of ways in either language. What is meant by common basic system is the type of semantic relations realized by moods, modal verbs and other modal constructions involving adjectives, adverbs, certain 'pure' verbs and modal phrases wich express various types and degrees of modality on the scale of possibility, probability, certainty, permission, obligation, (cap)ability, potentiality, etc. In addition to these basic concepts, at least three modal roles seem to be essential to this underlying semantic system : the *source* or *origin* of modality ; the *goal* or *destination* and the *experiencer* of the modality expressed. This means that moods, modal verbs and other modal constructions express a certain predication of modality with respect to persons involved in the accompanying roles.

The study emphasizes the similarities and differences in surface structure realizations of this common basic system of modality, focusing on the modal verbs and, to a lesser extent, on modal phrases and moods. The syntax, semantics and (occasionally) pragmatics of these surface realizations are the areas contrasted.

The categories of *Number* and *Gender* have received less atention due primarily to the fact that it was E and not R which was regarded as the target language so that they present comparatively fewer difficulties when viewed from that angle.

In both E and R — *number* is an overt category expressed by inflectional means. The two languages differ with respect to the number of parts of speech inflected for number. E inflects only nouns and pronouns (verbs are inflected only for purposes of agreement) while R inflects nouns and pronouns inherently and adjectives for agreement purposes.

Most of the problems in this area are due to lack of congruity between meaning and form. The great majority of E nouns evince congruity between meaning and form : the singular form designates oneness of the respective item (unique or one member of a class), the plural form designating more than one member of the same class. Nouns which create difficulties have to be learned individually as members of small subsets and they represent potential sources of error as long as the grammar of each such noun is not mastered completely. On the other hand, given the fact that most of these problems belong to more special areas of the E vocabulary, mistakes due to noun subcategorization are not so frequent.

Case is by and large trouble-free for Romanian learners with the exception of the Genitive. As in the case of mumber, the two languages differ with respect to the number of parts of speech that they inflect for case (R : Noun, Pronoun, Adjective E : Noun and Pronoun). One additional problem is created by the existence of two Genitive forms in E as opposed to only one in Romanian, a problem which has not been investigated in detail as yet.

4.5. *Studies in Contrastive Syntax.*

Studies in syntax have a more unitary character based as they are, to a great extent on the GT model.

4.5.1. A number of studies are devoted to the description of those types of E simple sentences which present difficulties to the R learner ; of these, Lupaş and Roceric (1974) is an ample study of negation both at sentence and word level. The study points out the main divergence points between the two languages, which are apt to create unwanted interference : a) while in R multiple negation is possible within the same simple sentence, in E the existence of one negation excludes the use of any other negative in the same simple sentence : (compare R. *Nu inţeleg nimic niciodată. I never understand anything)*; b) the presence of a negative in the E sentence automaticaly requires the use of the non-negative doublets (e.g. *anything* instead of *nothing)*, whereas R uses supplementary re-inforcing negation ; c) two E forms : *no* and *not* both correspond to the R adverb *nu* and have different syntactic properties. In another study, M. Manoliu-Manea (to appear) shows that in both English and Romanian the use of quantifiers (E. *any, no, some* ; R. *nişte, vreun*, etc.) versus negation can be better explained if a symbolic-logical formalism is adopted, exploiting differences of scope between the quantifiers and the negation of the same sentence rather than by using features of the type [± Indefinite] or [± Specific].

Ştefănescu and Vîntu-Vincenz (to appear) discuss various possibilities of analysing questions and formulating rules for their generation, pointing out the similarities and differeces of the solution proposed. Based on Phrase Structure and transformational rules, the authors estabilsh some common types of question that are common to both E and R as well as partially or totally different types of questions. The hierarchy thus established helps to determine the degrees of difficulty for the learner.

The interrogative "particles" *who-cine, what-ce* are investigated by Vasiliu (1974), who discusses copula questions only (= 'be' questions). The analysis reveals a subtle difference in meaning between E *what* and R *ce*. The range of R *ce* covers expressions which, from a semantic point of view, may be characterized by saying that they are class expressions i.e. the opposition *cine ce* is clear : *cine* refers to definite or indefinite identifying descriptions, while *ce* has a wider range, covering class expressions as well : *Cine e Ion? / / Ion e un inginer (Inginerul pe care-l cunoşti) Ion e inginer / / Ce e Ion? / / Ion e un inginer / / Ion e inginer. What* contrasts with *ce* since the range of *what* does not contain expressions that could be semantically characterized as class expressions, but expressions which convey class expressions and something else.

What is John? John is an engineer. * John is engineer.*

According to the author, *what*-copula questions are "less clear" to the Romanian speaker, who avoids them by resorting to the more familiar *who cine* ones because they are more familiar.

4.5.2. An important number of studies deal with various basic, sentence patterns via a discussion of verb subcategories (Pană G, and Petrovanu Al. 1972), Petrovanu-Cornilescu (to appear), Spăriosu and Suciu (to appear), Spăriosu and Balomiri (to appear). In all instances the authors start from constructions which are semantically equivalent and formally similar or dissimilar. In all the cases they attempt to show that the semantic equivalence is accounted for in terms of the same 'deep structure'. This forces the authors to adopt increasingly more abstract deep structures to serve as a common starting point or a *tertium comparationis*, in cases where the surface structures are rather widely divergent.

Thus, with certain verb patterns, Chomskian deep structures are sufficient, as the surface structures present a higher degree of similarity (this is true of sentence patterns with verbs like *give da*, *ask intreba* etc. (cf. Pană-Petrovanu, 1972). In other cases, the semantic equivalence of sentence verb patterns is better understood within the framework of a Filimorian grammar ; the verbs can be shown to have the same case frames, but they differ transformationally to a considerable extent. Compare :

E. *I am waiting for my teacher*	R. *Aștept profesorul*
E. *I envy him his garden*	R. *Il invidiez pentru grădina lui.*

As the surface syntactic distance increases, it becomes harder to identify the common starting point and it may be necesary to go to a prelexical abstract semantic representation which can account for correspondences of the type :

The milk has turned sour.	*Laptele s-a acrit.*
John has gone mad.	*Ion a innebunit.*

In both languages we find the same verb subcategories but the correspondence is never perfect because a) semantically equivalent items correspond to different subcategories ; this is an extremely frequent situation and a powerful source of errors and b) the size and membership of various subcategories differ considerably. An extreme case is furnished by the category of ergative verbs. The class is represented in both languages, but in R it is so rare as to be hardly worth mentioning *(Ion fierbe apa. Apa fierbe. Ploaia ruginește fierul. Fierul ruginește).* In E the class is extremely well represented and on the increase since one of the characteristic features of the E language is the fact that it has many verbs which can be both transitive and intransitive. R uses reflexive passives for the intransitive member of the pair (E. *John opens the door. The door opens* — R. *Ion deschide ușa* — *Ușa se deschide).*

4.5.3. Closely related to verb subcategories are the transformations of Passivization and Reflexivization — treated at length in several studies : T. Duțescu (1972), Vișan-Neumann (1972) R. Munteanu-Petcov (1975).

In the first two studies the Passive is viewed as a transformation, as a means of topicalization, therefore as a device having relevance at the information structure level. Passive sentences are interesting from a contrastive point of view because, as shown in Munteanu, the classes of verbs undergoing the passive transformation are different, and so is the range of objects that can be topicalized by means of Passive.

Possibilities a, b, c, below are excluded for R :

(a) *The child was carefully looked after.*	(Prep. Obj. topicalized)
(b) *Mary was given the book.*	(IO topicalized).
(c) *The table has never been eaten at.*	(Locative topicalized).
(d) *The shirt was washed by Mary.*	*Cămașa a fost spălată de Mary.* (DO topicalized, allowed both in E and in R)

ii) R has two passive forms at its disposal, forms which even if we accept the fact that they represent surface realizations of the same deep structure-are not *discourse equivalent.*

The extensive syntactic description of these Passive forms is followed by an examination of the functions of the Passive transformation in discourse, which leads up to valuable R — E correspondences.

Reflexive constructions (closely related to Passive constructions — if only for the fact that R se is a reflexive marker which may have Passive value), have received considerable attention because of the great diversity of R reflexive constructions which often cause translation difficulties.

Visan Neuman, B. (1972) splits R reflexive forms into several classes, according to their syntactic properties and according to their E equivalents. Based on this analysis the following R — E correspondences are established :

a) the R reflexive marker *se* is an optional expansion of the Predicate, a more morphological marker devoid of signification. The English correspondent is an intransitive verb e.g.

to rely on somebody	*a se bizui pe cineva*
to take to drinking	*a se deda la băutură*

b) the reflexive marker *se* appears as a consequence of a transformation like the Passive and Reciprocal ; i.e. it is an expansion of the symbols, Reciprocal, Passive, whose signification it bears. In the first case, the E correspondent is a sentence with reciprocal pronouns or an intransitive form (if the reciprocal pronouns are deleted), e.g.

They were still fighting when I left.

Se băteau încă cînd am plecat.

When *se* is a Passive marker, the E correspondent is an (intransitively used) ergative verb, or a Passive, e.g.

Diamond cuts easily.	*Diamantul se taie ușor.*
Interesting results were obtained by...	*S-au obținut rezultate interesante prin...*

The *se* Passive often has an impersonal value ; in such cases the English equivalent is often an active impersonal construction with *you,* or *one* as subject, a Nominative + Infinitive, or simply a Passive form e.g.

John turned out to be a liar.	*Ion s-a dovedit mincinos.*
You/one could hear songs in the distance.	*Se auzeau cintece in depărtare.*

c) E and R seem to be more alike when the Reflexive pronoun is the result of a pronominalization transformation operating on coreferential nominals in the same simple cause, e.g.

John is looking at himself in the mirror.	*Ion se priveşte in oglindă.*

Still other R reflexive forms discussed in Cornilescu-Petrovanu (1972) — are equivalent to English possessive adjectives : e.g.

John is washing his hands.	*Ion işi spală miinile.* *Ion se spală pe miini.*

5.4. The nominal group has received comparatively less attention : two studies (Trofin, 1972 and Cornilescu, 1974) touch on the important problem of relative clauses. As shown in both papers, the strategy of Relative Clause formation is the same in both language involving the same major rules. Difficulties concern :

a) the use of the relative pronouns which in each language presents individual constraints.

b) the existence of supplementary rules in one language only (e.g. the rule of Relative Pronoun deletion) :

E. *The man I love.*	R. *Omul pe care-l iubesc.*

c) the interaction of Relativization with other constraints and rules in the grammar, which produces different surface structures of some relative clauses in E and R. Such cases are mentioned in Cornilescu (1974) :

E. *Which professor did he marry the daughter of?*
Cu fiica cărui profesor s-a căsătorit?

Trofin (1972) discusses the distribution in relative clauses of the relatives *care cine* = *who, which* : *cine* = *who* — valid in interrogative sentences. The author also suggests an adequate teaching strategy which should prevent the occurrence of errors such as **omul cine* (when R is the target language) and **the man which* (when E is the target language).

5.5. The use of the TG model permits the discussion of certain syntactic phenomena which can be given a unitary interpretation only within this framework. Several studies discuss such problems.

Maria Manoliu Manea (1974) discusses pronominalization and the (in)adequacy, of available theories to cope with all the syntactic and semantic phenomena linking nouns and pronouns. The connection between adverbs and other parts of speech — chiefly adjectives and predicative nouns-is discussed in a paper devoted to Adverbialization by T. Duţescu and D. Spăriosu (1974).

According to the authors, all adverbs are SS constituents derived through transformations of various types from constituents of higher clauses — usually *be* nuclei $\left(be + \begin{matrix}\mathrm{Adj}\\ \mathrm{NP}\end{matrix}\right)$ If this position is adopted the source of such mistakes as the following becomes evident :

* *This onion smells well*	*Ceapa asta miroase bine.*
* *She found it naturally to walk out on him.*	*Ei i s-a părut firesc să-l părăsească.*

The Principle of Pied Piping provides a natural way of formulating an important difference between R and E.
English allows the movement of NPs out of Prep NPs, thus extending the domain of certain transformations which are not allowed in Romanian. This is the case of the deletion of a Relative pronoun which is a Prep. Obj., Passivization out of Prep. NPs, etc. :

Which house did he live in?	* *Care casă locuia (el) in?*
	In ce casă locuia?
The house which I was telling you about.	*Casa despre care îţi vorbeam.*
	* *Casa care îţi vorbeam despre*
He's impossible to work with.	* *El e imposibil de lucrat cu.*
	E imposibil de lucrat cu el.
The book is easy to read.	*Cartea e uşor de citit.*
He cannot be relied on.	* *El nu poate fi bizuit pe*
	Nu te poţi bizui pe el.

Complementation has been and will be a central area of research due to the importance of this problem in an overall description of the two languages.

Several studies on E and R complementation have been completed (Petrovanu 1971, Vincenz, 1972) while others are in progress (Ştefănescu, to appear and Zdrenghea, to appear).

As shown in Ştefănescu (to appear) in both languages there are several types of complement structure that could be arranged in a hierarchy running from very sentency *that* complements. R *că/ca.... să* complements) to very nouny complements.

The syntactic correspondence between E and R is only partial because a) not all complement types available in the one language are found in the other b) verb subcategories are different in the contrasted languages.

The specific feature of the E complement system is the existence of a large number of non-finite forms with distinct properties, the infinitive, the Pass-*ing*, the Acc-*ing*, verbal nouns, the participle. Some of these complements (the Pass-*ing* and Acce-*ing*) have no parallel form in R.

R uses fewer and less frequent non-fininte forms : the Supin, the Gerunziu which translates some of the E participal constructions, and the two infinitive forms. The verbal infinitive is used only seldom after a handful of verbs such as (*putea, vrea, părea* etc.) and after nouns (*dorinţa de a urca*). The nominal form of the infinitive, frequently used, has all of the syntactic properties of the E verbal noun. On the other hand, R uses finite complements far more extensively than E, using either the Indicative mood or the Conjunctive which has rightly been called a subordination mood.

Consequently, ignoring most of the complexities involved we might make the following (probably excessive) generalizations regarding the R—E complement systems :

a) E *that* — complements correspond to R *că ca...să* constructions.
b) E *for* — to constructions, most of the inf. pattern involving E qui, and some of the patterns with Raising correspond to R finite clauses employing the "Conjunctive" e.g.

a) *It is desirable for him to go*	*E de dorit ca el să meargă.*
b) *I persuaded him to go*	*L-am convins să meargă*
c) *I ordered him to go*	*I-am ordonat să meargă*
d) *I want him to go*	*Vrea ca el să meargă.*

In the case of Raising inf. Constructions it is more difficult to make general statements, but it is worth mentioning that, unlike E which requires Raising non-finite constructions (Raising triggers a *to* or (Poss) *ing* complementation), R allows finite clauses with Raising e.g. :

I saw him come	*L-am văzut că vine*
I felt her tremble	*Am simţit-o că tremură.*

E-*ing* complements (Poss-*ing*, Acc-*ing*, participles, verbal nouns) often correspond to nominal infinitives or 'Supin' constructions. The nominal infinitives seem to be the more frequent form when the E-*ing* is preceded by a preposition e.g. :

I anticipated their coming	*Am anticipat venirea lor*
Reading aloud is always a bore	*Cititul cu glas tare e plictisitor.*
Everything depends on their coming	*Totul depinde de venirea lor.*
Before their going away	*Inainte de plecarea lor.*

Nominalization is more constrained in R than in E so that certain types of clauses that can be nominalized in E, using Poss-*ing* or verbal noun constructions, resist nominalization in R :

John's wasting his life away angered his mother.

Faptul că Ion işi iroseşte viaţa o supără pe mama lui.

5. Lexicology and Semantics

The primary objective of our research in the field of lexis has been the elaboration of a *Contrastive Dictionary* of the most frequent E words and their R equivalents. The dictionary has already been written by a group of researchers under the supervision of Dr. Edith Iarovici and will be published soon by "Editura științifică și enciclopedică" in Bucharest.

The dictionary presents for each equivalent pair of lexical items the structural relations of identity or non-identity both at the level of *form* and *of content*.

The dictionary should be looked upon as a condensed theoretical study of the 2,000 words included. Its starting point was offered by Michael West's *A General Service List of English Words* (London, 1959). Those elements have been preserved which are useful from the point of view of contrastive analysis.

West's way of specifying the various meanings of a word has been generally taken over, since he observes the criterion of semantic oppositions, besides that of frequency. But whenever his division into meanings was considered insufficient or unsatisfactory from a contrastive point of view, certain modifications were introduced.

The R part of the dictionary comprises the semantic equivalents of the meanings, as well as the translation of the respective contexts. The latter have been frequently modified, supplemented, or even replaced by more respresentative illustrations.

Each item included the most frequent set phrases, with translations, in order to facilitate the acquisition of idiomatic E.

The contrastive structural relations between the lexemes in the two languages are brought out by : indications specifying the contrastive subtype each word and its equivalent belong to ; they mark the degree of contrast of the respective lexemes ; the E synonyms for each meaning ; the R homonyms, as well as the equivalents of deceptive words.

Michael West's dictionary is aimed at being, first and foremost, a frequency dictionary, but it is sometimes rather inconsistent. Moreover, there is no R dictionary stating the frequency of meanings. It is for these two reasons that the members of the group dealing with lexical preoblems finally had to give up the idea of confronting the two languages from the point of view of frequency in their dictionary. But they have partly made up for this shortcoming in the first appendix, which indicates the frequency group each word belongs to (within a scale of groups containing 500 words each).

The second part of the dictionary consists of appendices containing the following types of lists :

— a list of decreasing frequency for E and one for R with a view to offering an approximate comparison of the frequency rank of lexemes in each of the two languages ;

— alphabetic lists of E words grouped into contrastive subtypes (e.g. Cognates, Partial Cognates, Diversified Cognates, etc.)

— an alphabetic list of the most frequently used complex verbs, with their R equivalents ;

— alphabetic lists of verbs, nouns and adjective requiring certain prepositions, with their R equivalents ;

— alphabetic lists of words and meanings (in E) graded for the first stages of teaching, according to the degree of difficulty revealed by their confrontation with R. This last appendix represents the pedagogical conclusions of the contrastive dictionary. Together with the first appendix, it enables teachers and textbook authors to establish a correct hierarchy of words and meanings for the acquisition of the basic vocabulary of the E language.

As can be inferred from its objectives, the dictionary is designed mainly for teachers of E and authors of E textbooks. It will help them to avoid the numerous more or less rare and useless words which still burden many textbooks. Moreover, it will facilitate the rapid acquisition, with minimum effort, of the basic vocabulary that is absolutely necessary for the first stages of E, by R learners.

Unlike ordinary dictionaries, this contrastively oriented one warns the learners of E of the difficulties (lexical and, often, grammatical) they are likely to meet with, difficulties that are due to the dissimilarities of the two languages and which are revealed by their confrontation. By facilitating the solution of such difficulties, the dictionary contributes to the rapid and systematic acquisition of the basic E vocabulary and of its main grammatical implications. Although, as mentioned earlier, RECAP does not include a semantic component per se, i.e. there is no attempt at providing a contrastive description of the semantic structures of the two languages, the elaboration of the contrastive dictionary dealt with above as well as other needs and interests have led to several studies on lexicology and semantics whose theoretical importance is worth mentioning.

The methodological principles of most lexical studies are presented in Iarovici and Mihăilă : *A Tentative Approach to Romanian-English Lexical Contrastive Analysis (1971)*. Adopting the dichotomy form-content, the authors regard the lexeme as 'a construction' from the point of view of form and as 'a bundle of distinctive semantic features', from the content point of view. The analysis of a lexical unit is based on distributional relations and takes into account the linguistic and extra-linguistic context.

The taxonomy proposed is useful for any lexical contrastive study as well as for the estimation and prediction of the degrees of difficulty of the E vocabulary for R learners. The system proposed is illustrated by Iarovici (1972) in a contrastive study of set phrases in E and R.

An important contribution to contrastive semantics, valuable from both a practical and a theoretical point of view, is Nemser and Vincenz-Vintu's ample study on "*The Indeterminacy of the Semantic Interference*" (1972). The analysis is based on a number of twelve English lexemes (and their Romanian translation equivalents) characterized by diachronic persistence and wide distribution. The lexemes are viewd as associations of distinctive features, according to transformational theory. A semantic feature is considered in relation to the universality hypothesis and reflects the idea that languages use a common inventory of features "The assumption of universality permits both a formalized

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description of languages based on common concepts and the comparative and contrastive analysis of languages" (p. 101). The study is an attempt at establishing to what extent semantic interference can be determined and predicted.

Restricting the field of investigation, Bantaş (1974) proposes a classification and hierarchy of criteria for the contrastive analysis of English nouns. The results are useful for the teaching learning process and for the construction of teaching materials, dictionaries, translation work, etc.

The contrastive studies of the vocabulary combine structural and transformational approaches drawing on works by Chomsky, Katz, Fodor and the more recent contributions by Fillmore, Lakoff, McCawley (cf. Mîrza 1972).

The "classical" transformational method is employed in Mihăilă's contrastive study of the adjective in Romanian and English (1972). Regarding transformations as a semantic change and defining distribution in transformational terms, the author points out that the method of semantic transformation, unlike that of distribution, raises questions of the evolution of meaning as well as of frequency (p. 267).

F. Băncilă has produced the first study based on the semantic field concept — *The Semantic Field of Terms for Physical Pain in English and in Romanian* (1974), in which she uses a binery system of distinctive features. Similar studies include I. Stoichici's *The Semantic Field of the notions "a potoli"* and *'a se potoli'* in *English and Romanian* (to appear), and others.

Iarovici and Mihăilă (1974) have attempted a Fillmorean analysis of the R syntagm "*nume + de + nume*" whose main outcome was to reveal the great variety of the E equivalents of the R preposition '*de*'. The sequence *N + de + N* is a surface structure construction and the transformation rules by means of which it is derived in the two languages are different ; hence, the many difficulties encountered by R learners is acquiring the proper English equivalent Iarovici (1974) is concerned with *overstatement* and *understatement* in English and Romanian and emphasizes their importance for the behaviour of discourse participants, for conversational strategy.

6. Semiotic Aspects of Cantrastive analysis is, by its very nature, a field of interdisciplinary research. It was repeatedly pointed out in this report that from the very beginning, the Romanian-English Project has endeavoured to go beyond the scope of traditional contrastive linguistics, particularly in the direction of psycholinguistics. The progress of investigation however has made it clear that contrastive studies should be approached from an even wider scope.

The semiotic approach looks very promising in this respect. A good example is provided by S. Golopenţia-Eretescu's two studies (1972—1974).

In *Contrasted Grammars* (1972), the author views linguistic contrast as a type of semiotic contrast and, starting from this assumption, examines all the theoretical implications of this standpoint for contrastive linguistics.

Linguistic contrast is progressive, dynamic and non-oriented in character. Granted the existence of intermediate approximative systems, oriented, or non-oriented, the non-oriented linquistic contrast may be oriented in the systematic teaching process. The focus of attention is the examination of one of the cases of contrast, namely the contrast between two or more grammars of two equivalent linguistic systems. Assuming that in a foreign language learner, the grammars contrasted are the following :

native language grammar	*foreign language grammar*
1 natural (N1)	1 pseudonatural (F1)
2 pseudoartificial (N2)	2 artificial (F2)

the contrast situations are : A : N1—N2 ; B : N1—F1 ; C : N1—F2 ; D : N1—N2—F1 ; E : N1—F1—F2 ; F : N1—N2—F1—F2

Golopenţia points out that "any metalinguistic contrast that extends beyond the limits of the native language tends to proliferate into an (F) contrast situation" (1972 : 151).

In "*Towards a Contrastive Analysis of Conversational Strategy*" (1974) a semiotic approach is used to examine the strategy of conversation in English and Romanian. The notions of social situation, natural language, user of a natural language, language game, which are basic for the construction of a conversation, are carefully defined and illustrated. Considering the roles of Speaker (Listener), Auditor and of Initiator/Interlocutor, as well as membership in the native or non-native group, the author sets up 18 types of conversation, of which the types native-non-native and non-native-non-native are contrastive ones. An adequate contrastive analysis must take into account all the conversational situations in order to avoid artifical results to the greatest possible extent. The author concludes that "It is a paradox of foreign language teaching that it prepares students for ideally natural conversation by exposing them to (linguistically and socially) highly artificial ones" (1974 : 125).

Both studies represent a new direction in contrastive analysis, suggestive of broader investigations in keeping with the complexities of the process of comunication in a foreign language.

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THE YUGOSLAV SERBO-CROATIAN-ENGLISH CONTRASTIVE PROJECT FROM THE ZAGREB CONFERENCE TO THE PRESENT

FILIPOVIĆ RUDOLF

1.0. Introduction

At the Zagreb Conference on English Contrastive Projects[1] (held 7—9 December 1970) I reviewed the work of the Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian — English Contrastive Project in its first phase[2] (1967—1970). During that phase, besides the basic work on the organization of the project, (1) questions on the approach to the contrastive analysis and on its application were decided ; (2) the aim of the project was determined (it would be twofold : general linguistic and pedagogical) ; (3) the relationship of the project to linguistic theory and to individual linguistic models was established ; (4) the question of the method and the methodology of work was settled ; (5) the translation method was accepted and it was decided to work with a corpus and its translation into Serbo-Croation ; (6) the topics to be analyzed contrastively were adopted, and it was decided to analyze them on four levels :

a) phonological ; b) morphological ; and c) syntactic ; d) lexical ; (7) the decision was made to use the American Brown corpus (the Standard Sample of Present-Day Edited American English) ; (8) this corpus was purposely shortened to half and translated into Serbo-Croatian, and this shortened and translated version of the Brown Corpus was termed the *Zagreb version* of the Brown Corpus ; (9) this shortened version was coded so that all those morphological and syntactic elements which the analysts would need in their work could be obtained ; (10) with the help of a computer, contrastive concordances were obtained in which each coded grammatical unit is noted in its English or Serbo-Croatian context.

1.1. The First Phase of the Project

After all this preparatory work was completed, the contrastive analysis and error analysis themselves were begun. In my report given at the Zagreb Conference I presented the results of that period.[3] All these results were made available to the scientific public in the publications of the project : *Studies,*[4] *Reports,*[5] and *Pedagogical Materials*[6].

1.1.1. By the time of the Zagreb Conference three volumes of *Studies*[7] had been published, containing 12 contributions which discussed questions of the contrastive approach in our project. In the *Reports* series of publications were published the first analyses of individual grammatical units on the morphological and syntactic levels, 26 contributions in three volumes[8]. In that phase the first volume[9] of the third series, *Pedagogical Materials*, was also published, containing six articles. The significance of this last volume is twofold : first, we showed the pedagogical application of the results of the contrastive analysis and how we came to accept the final form and method of working with those materials ; second, we published, in that volume of *Pedagogical Materials* (in lengthy résumés of three M. A. theses) the results of the error analysis[10] which we were working on at the same time that we were working on the contrastive analysis.

In "The Use of Contrastive and Error Analysis. . ."[11] I emphasized our viewepoint that contrastive analysis cannot be successfully applied without error analysis and that only on the basis of both kinds of results (CA and EA) could good teaching materials be compiled. It is thus our belief that such materials must be based on : a) the results of contrastive investigation, b) the findings of error analysis, c) the experience of analysts with errors which students of a foreign language make, and d) methodologists knowledge of which method to apply and how to apply it[12].

A detailed investigation of effors made by those learning a foreign language offers material for a *Compromise System*,[13] which we can construct to give the teacher a systematic list of errors, their nature and their causes. Such a list serves the teacher as a handbook whenever he wants to identify and eliminate some error. Errors arise as a result of language transfer or for some other reason which has no connection with transfer. Therefore the teacher must know not only the causes of errors based on interference from the mother tongue but also causes such as false analogy, the study or knowledge of another foreign language, taking up another grammatical unit before the first has been fully mastered, a student's abandoning of the system of his native language before he has mastered the new system of the foreign language and thus, under the influence of the stimulus "this is new, this is different from my native language", he creates his own transitional systems which have no connection with transference.

1.1.2. On the basis of the results attained in the first phase of work on contrastive and error analysis, we came to the very convincing conclusion that the general linguistic goals of CA can be attained by conducting CA alone, but that the pedagogical goals and the application of the results of CA cannot be realized without conducting error analysis. Thus both analyses (CA and EA) must be conducted parallelly so that on the basis of their results the planned final products of our project could be obtained : a contrastive grammar, a compromise system, and teaching materials.

To check the applicability of the results of CA we began already in the first phase to test the results of CA completed up to that time, and we came up with some very interesting findings[14]. We used two types of tests: the first served to test the applicability of the pedagogical materials in classroom teaching and thus to ascertain how much and when they could be used in the teaching process, while the second kind of test actually represents a continuation and completion of the error analysis (done earlier mainly on a spoken corpus), because the tests were compiled separately for just those areas which we wished to investigate more carefully and which would thus give supplementary information on the type and causes of mistakes. This second type of test served also to check the results obtained in CA as they represent areas of interference. Occasionally those results were of particular interest for establishing the relation of CA and EA.

2.0. The Second Phase of the project — Results, Plans, and Goals.

The work that we reviewed in the preceding sections (Introduction, 1.0 — 1.1.2.) was not all completed in the first phase (1967—70) and is continuing in the second. This holds especially for the analysis of individual grammatical units and the publication of results in the *Reports*, for testing those results and compiling pedagogical materials.

In the second phase of the project two main goals were set:

a) to determine the way in which the studies, the final result of the contrastive analysis, would be written, and b) to establish the form of pedagogical materials intended for the teacher of English.

Even at the very beginning of the project (which I reviewed at the AILA Congress at Cambridge, 15 August, 1969) the difference between articles printed in the *Reports* and those in the *Studies* series was defined. Later the aim and method were defined more precisely for both kinds of articles, those in *Reports* and those in *Studies*. At the Zagreb Conference (December 1970) I developed the methodology for preparing reports. All contributions printed in *Reports* up to the end of 1970 were done according to this much more developed concept, and the results were presented in my report at the Zagreb Conference.

In the second phase of the project (YSCECP) we followed the same concept, i.e. each article for the *Reports* is to be written on the basis of the literature available, existing descriptive grammars and other sources, as well as the intuition and experience of the analyzer, but without the use or documentation of the corpus. *Reports* were used as a place for project workers to publish the results of their work in progress and to discuss openly questions which appear during their work. Although discussion on the results of analyzing individual grammatical units was carried on in regular Project meetings, some discussion appeared in the publications as well.[16]

Whatever differences conceivably exist between reports from the first phase and those done during the second phase, these differences are the result of greater experience on the part of project workers and of wider acquaintance with the material and aims of the project. Sometimes the difference represents a step closer to a study. This is especially true for those reports which were done after we developed in a more detailed fashion the concept of a study. The best example of this is an article on adjective comparison[17] in which the author prepared a theoretical introduction on the basis of the latest literature. This introduction will serve the author well when he is writing the chapter on comparison in his study on adjectives.

In the *Studies* series of publications we foresaw publication of two types of contributions : (a) articles which would treat questions and problems of contrastive linguistics directly or indirectly connected with the organization and work of our project . (b) articles representing the final product of the contrastive analysis of some grammatical unit, written on the basis of an analysis completed with the Zagreb version of the Brown Corpus, i.e. an analysis supplemented by material from the corpus and, with the aid of the contrastive concordances, to revise or complete the results from the "Report" stage.

In the first phase of the Project we published four volumes of *Studies* and in the second phase one volume with articles of the first type. In the second phase we worked on articles of the second type, i.e. project workers reworked their reports into studies with the help of material from the Corpus. Several such studies are still in progress, and the first such study to be completed is to be published in Volume 6 of *Studies*.

At the end of the first phase we solved, after lengthy experimentation, the question of how to write pedagogical materials as we intended them to be written at the conception of our project, i.e. that the results of pedagogical materials should be applied in practical teaching.

Pedagogical materials, which represent the most obvious practical result of our project — the realization of its applied- pedagogical aspect — are being written with maximum application of the results achieved by both CA and EA. We have even put in a third factor which can only add to their applicability : testing.

A contrastive grammar of the target language based on the source language may be considered as the first result of CA and EA at a more analytical level ; pedagogical materials are meant to supplement it as the result of CA and EA at an applied level. Pedagogical Materials supply the teacher with teaching material usable in discussing any basic element of contrastive grammar or drilling it at the practising stage of teaching. Here again we see a very valuable function of Pedagogical Materials in the teaching process, as textbooks and grammars never supply enough material in discussing and drilling a difficult language structure. Pedagogical Materials reduce to a minimum the danger of a teacher's following either the old routines or his own intuition.

In order to make Pedagogical Materials most applicable in the teaching process we had to discuss which approach and method of teaching to choose in the selection and grading of material. The first two articles in *Pedagogical Materials*[18] show which way we went. The first "Teaching Problems in Presenting Modal Verbs", was written before my article "The Role of Linguistics in the Development of Modern Language Teaching"[19] and the second "Teaching Problems in Presenting Relative Pronouns", after. The difference is obvious. While in the first we were still looking for the best solution, in the second my two-degree teaching scheme was applied and proved to be most suitable for further classification of teaching material.

My scheme is based on two approaches: a) a habit formation approach; b) a cognitive approach, which represent two degrees in the teaching scheme. The first degree consists of three habit-formation stages, and the second degree, representing the creative use of the language, is made up of two more stages. This particular five-stage scheme covers the process of teaching through a period of ten or more years and can be well applied in Yugoslavia in the case of SC learners of E, who according to the Yugoslav educational system start learning E at the age of ten or slightly earlier.

How is this five-stage scheme applied in writing Pedagogical Materials? The writer collects: a) all the results of CA for a given item, i.e. all the points of interference, b) all other sources and causes of mistakes offered by EA, and c) all additional material collected in testing. Then he consults frequency counts for the item under investigation. The complete grammatical inventory representing different uses for the item is divided into five stages which cover the teaching process from the beginning up to a very advanced level. The basis for the hierarchy is the frequency of usage in English.

The methodological justification of my two-degree and five-stage scheme was developed by Mirjana Vilke, our ELT specialist, in her article entitled "On Compiling Pedagogical Materials".[20] The material of an item is graded in five stages taking into consideration both frequency and positive and negative transfer, and what is recommended as forms of teaching.

All the articles — pedagogical materials — have been based on this approach, which consists of the following pattern:

In *Stage One* the most frequent use of the item is dealt with and in case of positive transfer mechanical drills and short dialogues are applied. In the case of negative transfer, repeated, intensive drills are introduced.

In *Stage Two* the material is presented in repetition exercises and intensive pattern practice. Then other frequent uses of the same grammatical item are introduced. Other cases of interference or identified sources of errors are dealt with in intensive mechanical drills.

Stage Three covers medium frequent, but important uses of the same grammatical category. More complicated pattern drills are used. The material of the first two stages is repeated.

As *Stage Four* represents the beginning of the cognitive approach, mechanical drills are dropped and combinatory exercises are introduced. In this stage contrastive comparisons between the structures of the Ls and Lt are followed in exercises. All the material learned by an inductive approach to grammatical rules and generalizations is repeated.

In *Stage Five* we treat all the subcategories of the grammatical unit not included in earlier stages because of low frequency, or strong interference combined with low frequency. They are worked on in exercises based on free oral and written expressions. To test the learner's ability to select the most appropriate form, translation exercises from Ls to Lt have been introduced here.

How this pattern can be applied in preparing the pedagogical material for a grammatical item was illustrated for the first time in M. Vilke's article "Teaching Problems in Presenting Relative Pronouns".[18] In this article the category of English relative pronouns is organized in such a way that the positive transfer from SC to E relative pronouns is utilized in teaching techniques, while the prevention of negative transfer is taken care of by special drills and exercises. An attempt is made to grade the materials carefully so that the student advances slowly, from the material thoroughly learned to more complicated material involving more complex choices.

2.1. Analysis Completed and Results Published

In the second phase, since the Zagreb Conference 59 contributions have been published : 45 in six volumes of *Reports*[21] (Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9), seven contributions in one *Studies*[22] volume (No. 5) and seven in one volume of *Pedagogical Materials*[23] (No. 2).

By the same system (which I described at the Zagreb Conference) project workers have continued contrastive analysis of other previously determined topics in *Reports*. In the fifth volume of *Studies* the publications of theoretically oriented contributions giving further treatment to theoretical questions of CA was continued. The second volume of *Pedagogical Materials* contains, in addition to an introductory article which shows synthetically the pedagogical application of CA and EA, articles with teaching materials for practical treatment of the individual units theoretically detailed in the *Reports*.

2.1.1. Reports

In this second phase of work the analysis of verbal forms was continued. Dr. Leonardo Spalatin[24] distinguished among the various uses of the English preterite and pluperfect which in Serbo-Croatian very often have the perfect as an equivalent. This then leads to difficulties for Serbo-Croatian speaking students. Dr. Damir Kalogjera[25] took up the various methods of studying the future tense in both languages (English and Serbo-Croatian), comparing their meanings and restrictions in usage.

Verbal aspect, a finely developed grammatical category in Serbo-Croatian, was the subject of two articles. Dr. Midhat Ridjanović[26] in a lengthy article gave a universal classification of verbs and showed that the same categories are important in both languages but in different ways. Mira Vlatković,[27] in an article dealing with both aspect and verbal tense, showed how to express simultaneous actions.

The remaining contributions on verbal forms and their use discussed the passive. Dr. Lijljana Mihailović[28] published the first part of a detailed analysis of passive constructions, and Dr. Leonardo Spalatin[29] treated the English passive and its various translations into Serbo-Croatian by both passive and active as well as reflexive constructions, third person plural, etc. Mira Vlatković[30] analyzed the English imperative and its corresponding forms in Serbo-Croatian.

Linking verbs formed a topic of discussion between Dr. Vladimir Ivir [31] and Dr. Midhat Ridjanović. [32] In addition, in a separate article Dr. Ridjanović [33] analyzed the uses of linking verbs in exclamatory sentences.

Dr. Vladimir Ivir carried on a syntactic analysis of adjectives in four contributions. The first article deals with the use of prenominal and postnominal adjectival constructions. [34] Comparative adjectives were the topics of the second [35] and third [36] articles; they were shown to be very similar in both languages. The fourth contribution discussed the superlative. [37] Wayles Browne contributed two notes to the articles on adjectives cited above: one examined the accentuation of adjective + noun groups, [38] and the second, modifiers of the comparative. [39]

Several articles dealt with pronouns. Maja Dubravčić [40] analyzed personal pronouns in English and Serbo-Croatian; Dr. Leonardo Spalatin [41] examined the use of the pronoun *it* and its equivalents in Serbo-Croatian; Vjekoslav Suzanić in one article described the different uses of English *one* and its equivalents (or lack of equivalents) in Serbo-Croatian, [42] and in a second article treated indefinite adjectives and pronouns and their use in the noun phrase; [43] Dr. Željko Bujas [44] discussed demonstrative pronouns and their translation equivalents, viewing them as a problem of translational conversion; Dr. Ljiljana Mihailović [45] analyzed demonstratives and other elements of the structure of the noun phrase.

The distinctions, formerly quite elusive, among the English prepositions *over*, *under*, *above*, and *below* were analyzed by Dr. Ranko Bugarski. [46] He concluded that they correspond fairly well to the distinctions in Serbo-Croatian among *nad*, *pod*, *iznad*, and *ispod*.

In the field of derivational morphology only one contribution has appeared. Here Dr. Željko Bujas [47] examined translational conversion, showing that a typical feature of English words (that they are used in functions outside those of their basic part of speech) is not as rare in Serbo-Croatian as was previously thought.

A large number of articles was devoted to the syntax of the simple sentence. Dr Vladimir Ivir [48] examined number agreement between subject and verb and between members of the noun phrase. Ljubica Vojnović [49] analyzed the type of intransitive sentences and the distribution of adverbial mofifiers. Radmila Šević [50] detailed the use of adverbial modifiers in transitive sentences. Dr. Dragica Pervaz [51] studied verbs which take one object, and Radmila Šević, [52] verbs with two objects. Mladen Mihajlović [53] contrastively analyzed a general syntactic problem in an article on elliptic sentences. Dr. Ljiljana Bibović [54] showed in her discussion of word order that the theme-rheme structure is an important determinant in word order, especially in Serbo-Croatian.

The structure of complements or the use of "transformed clauses" as parts of other clauses was examined in several articles: Omer Hadžiselimović [55] studied a series of English constructions with non-finite verbal forms after the main verb ant their various equivalents (clauses or lexical units) in Serbo-Croatian. Dr. Dagica Pervaz [56] in one contribution distinguished among several types of English structures which have a direct object followed by a non-finite verbal form. Dr. Ljiljana Bibović [57] analyzed the English gerund used as subject and its equivalents in Serbo-Croatian (clause, infinitive, verbal noun).

Four contributions treat complex sentences: Zorica Grdanički [58] examined the use of clauses as subject of a second clause; Gordana Gavrilović [59] analyzed three of adverbial clauses; Mladen Vitezić, [60] in a lengthy condensation of his MA thesis, treated relative clauses from a practical standpoint; and an article by Dr. Ljiljana Mihailović [61] on relative clauses was of a theoretical or general syntactic character.

An article by the three authors Ivir, McMillan and Merz described S-relators [62] (conjunctions, adverbs, prepositional phrases, etc.) as the means by which various logical relations between clauses and sentences may be studied. The article contains a comprehensive list of relations and S-relators, with examples.

2.1.2. Studies

In this time period only one volume of *Studies* (Studies 5, Zagreb 1972) has been published. It contains, as did earlier volumes, articles which have more of a theoretical value for contrastive linguistics and are not directly connected to work on our project (YSCECP).

Dr. Midhat Ridjanović [63] took up the question of verbal aspect as a grammatical category and presents part of the results of his research into that question. This article represents part of his as yet unpublished Ph. D. dissertation. Dr. Vladimir Ivir [64] analyzed adjectives with that-complements, e.g., *happy that you can come*, and classified them according to the various transformations that the complement can undergo. Dr. Ljiljana Mihailović [65] studied existential sentences and contributed to the study of word order as well as to general and contrastive syntax. In his theoretically-oriented article, Dr. Rudolf Filipović [66] sought to draw a parallel between compromise system which a student unconsciously forms while studying a foreign language and system which appear when one language adopts elements of another.

The value of R. L. Allen's notion of sector analysis to contrastive syntactic studies was shown by T. K. Adeyanju. [67] Dr. Carl James [68] pits CA against error analysis and throws light on two problems: (a) interference which arises in studying a foreign language which is similar or typologically different from the native language of the student, and (b) interference caused by a foreign language which the student has previously studied. Dr. W. R. Lee [69] stressed the use of language in communicative situations; his opinion is that contrastive studies are useful to foreign-language teaching but they should not lead to exaggerated emphasis, during classroom work, of the difference between two languages. Dr. Olga Tomić [70] proposed a classification of definite determiners and Wh-words in English and Serbo-Croatian.

Although during the first phase of our project intensive work was being done on the "first" studies, the final products of the analysis of individual grammatical units, thus far only one has been completed and published. [71] This study by Dr. Dora Maček, entitled "Relatives in English and their Serbo-Croatian Equivalents", was written on the basis of her article "Relative Pronouns in English and Serbo-Croatian", published in *Reports 3* (Zagreb 1970) and completed with the help of the bilingual contrastive concordances from the Brown Corpus. This study serves as a pilot study.

The discussion of this study led to many methodological questions which had to be formulated in that last phase of work. The discussion also offered some solutions on which project members can rely when they are writing other studies. The genesis and structure of a study is discussed in Section 3.

2.1.2. Pedagogical Materials

In the second phase, work on pedagogical materials was continued according to the principles we established at the end of the first phase. In this second phase one volume of *Pedagogical Materials*[72] was published. Drawing on the experience of the YSCECP, Dr. Rudolf Filipović details in the paper "The Use of Contrastive and Error Analysis to Practicing Teachers"[73] how both contrastive and error analysis can help the practicing teacher : first, they can lead to the creation of a compromise system comprising a list of errors typical for the language he is teaching and a list of reasons for these errors ; second, CA and EA can aid in compiling pedagogical materials so that teaching and learning efficacy are maximized.

Radmila Djordjević wrote three contributions to the Pedagogical materials following the Filipović scheme. One analyzes the types of errors which occur in the use of noun phrases as subject in English[74] and suggests a three-step review of the problems met in this area : from the most common ("yes no questions" and their answers) to the less common and harder (agreement of subject and verb, inversion of subject and verb). In the second, marking use of the results of the test, she suggests stages through which the student of English can be led to so that he meets the fewest possible difficulties in mastering English constructions, noun phrases as subject,[75] where one finds demonstratives, personal pronouns, a proper noun in the genitive, or *all*, *both* and *half*. In the third contribution she discusses questions of Pronominalization in English[76] creating problems for the student of English — especially the use of the indefinite pronoun *one* and certain personal pronouns. The areas in which these difficulties occur are treated so that they can be easily handled in the classroom ; from the less difficult to the most complicated questions.

In three articles Dr. Mirjana Vilke follows the structure of the Filipović scheme : in the first stage, consisting of three phases, the approach is toward habit formation, and in the second stage consisting of two phases the approach is cognitive. For every phase not only what needs to be worked on is shown but examples of exercises, drills and dialogues for classwork are given. M. Vilke developed materials in this way for covering modals,[77] the perfect tense,[78] an the imperative[79].

3.0. New Studies

The main reason that the studies, which we envisioned as the final product of analysis of each unit, couldn't be published in the first five volumes of the series of our publications was that the reworking of the corpus took a long time and we wished to and had to work without a corpus in the first phase of CA, using a method explained in several other papers. This is apparent from the methodology we followed, which sought to do CA on the basis of other sources and not a corpus.

Only after getting "bilingual contrastive concordances" through computer treatment of the corpus did we fulfill the basic conditions for work on the studies as the final product of our project's CA. In addition, experience gained in writing articles (anticipated for publication in the *Reports)* and discussions carried on during the work on them and after their publication in the *Reports* gave us some new ideas and knowledge which we incorporated into the conception of writing studies.

Thus when we started to work on the studies with the help of computer concordances we could formulate the goal of the studies writer more concretely and precisely than earlier when we decided (theoretically) that the final product of the CA of each unit would be a study.

3.1. The first and fundamental principle was that each unit for which we completed CA ought to have its own study based on the results obtained from work on the Reports article and should be further documented with examples from the corpus. The transformation of a *Reports* article into a study does not have just the formal character of supplementing it with the help of examples from the corpus.

By our principle the analyst reworks the *report* into a *study* so that it includes all new findings and later results of the analysis obtained in researching the corpus. Thus a study shows which results the analyst has incorporated into it from existing literature and from his own experience and knowledge of English, and which he included on the basis of his analysis of the corpus.

The examples from the corpus are designated with computer numbers and the rest are not. Thus the study does not toss aside the article ; rather, the article is supplemented and all its results are tested with the help of the corpus since the study must be the full-circle totality of our work on one topic.

In this totality all accessible literature on the subject is reviewed so that the reader — teacher or student — gets an overview of the linguistic knowledge on the grammatical unit. This overview covers the approaches to the problem from the oldest to the most modern. In this way supplemental information is obtained on the linguistic approach to some unit through all the main trends in linguistics (from classical through structural to transformational-generative linguistics).

3.2. Of the five studies which are in progress one has been completed and published in Volume 6 of *Studies*[80] as a pattern for producing the rest. Discussion held on this study at the sixth working meeting of YSCECP showed that it can be taken as a basis for further work but that there are still possibilities for improving its form and content. The other studies which are in progress will certainly profit from the discussion at the meeting, but since they each have their own problems, they will present other difficulties which will manifest themselves during the writing of a study.

One group of studies contains contributions, each of which is tied to an article published in the *Reports*; each of these treats one single theme. Included here are the above-mentioned study by Dora Maček on relatives and two others, one by Maja Dubravčić[81] on the present perfect tense and the second by Mira Vlatković[82] on the imperative.

Another group of studies grew out of several articles on one theme and presents a sort synthesis of a project member's work up to the present supplemented by the results of corpus analysis. Dr. Vladimir Ivir is writing such a study on adjectives on the basis of his six articles[83] and Dr. Damir Kalogjera, on modals based on his three articles[84].

Project works have one more valuable and useful source of information for the analysis of some units — senior theses for the B. A. degree, as well as M. A. theses of students doing Master's degree work in linguistics at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb. Thus far we have tried whenever possible to publish lengthy condensations of these works in our publications. Those which are unpublished are frequently cited in project members' articles as having been used. Although these works with one exception are not based on our corpus, they occasionally give data on the topics they treat which are useful from a contrastive standpoint, because they approach the topic from the opposite angle, i.e., from Serbo-Croatian.

The publication of studies in the series bearing that name has as its aim their presentation of the work to the linguistic community and their improvement on the basis of the principles and criticism of the studies. These studies, discussed and evaluated in this way, will help, first, in writing the final monograph "A Contrastive Analysis of Serbo-Croatian and English" and, second, in applying the results of these studies to practical aims in writing a contrastive grammar of English for the Serbo-Croatian speaking area.

4.0. **Perspectives**

The Project will continue into a third phase (1976—1980), since several studies and the remaining pedagogical materials must be completed yet, in order to obtain all necessary analytic material for writing the synthetic monograph "A Contrastive Analysis of Serbo-Croatian and English". The monograph will be written on the basis of a detailed plan that Professor Charles Fillmore (University of California, Berkeley) and I have been working on.

In addition to a two-volume monograph, we shall also publish a series of smaller books, each of which will treat a separate grammatical topic which had been previously discussed and analyzed in the Project. Each book will consist of an informative introduction to the Project, a study on the grammatical topic, and pedagogical materials compiled on the basis of the study, with the aim of applying them in teaching. These books will serve the teacher as a source of information on individual grammatical topics and as a collection of exercises and drills for applying the topics in teaching.

In the third phase two aspects of contrastive analysis will be studied, the psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic. Present-day research in psycholinguistics is opening new posibilities and directions for studying the process of foreign-language teaching. Dr Gordana Opačić, a perspective member of the project, suggests that "in order to shed some light on the psycholinguistic nature of contrastive factors in second-language teaching and learning, the existing studies — e.g. those based on error-analysis — be examined for possible correlations of the nature and frequency of errors and the degree of remoteness of particular linguistic sequences from underlying semantically-based cognitive structures.".[85] New research in sociolinguistics shows that the spheres of our contrastive analysis, pronunciation and grammar, must be widened and that the study of sociolingustic aspect of contrastive analysis promises new and very interesting results.

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REPORT ON THE ENGLISH-HUNGARIAN CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS PROJECT

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The report aims at giving a short survey of the English-Hungarian Contrastive Linguistics Project. A few words will be said about its participants, research topics, meetings and publications. Finally the results and further plans will be touched upon.

In Hungary there is a need for a large number of English and general linguists who are well acquainted not only with earlier but also with modern trends in linguistics, and who both satisfy theoretical research requirements and apply these results in language teaching. To teach English at a high level future English teachers will require improved and manysided training, as well as course materials for both general and specialized (medical, commercial and technical) purposes. The Hungarian World Federation tries to help Hungarians living abroad to retain, improve, or acquire competence in the Hungarian language, and to become familiar with the cultural traditions and developments of their homeland.

As an attempt to meet the language requirements mentioned above — both for English and Hungarian — a two-way English-Hungarian Contrastive Project was undertaken in 1971. The Project was administered by the Linguistics Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in co-operation with the Center for Applied Linguistics of the U.S.A.

The first director of the Project was Professor Lajos Tamás, former Director of the Linguistics Institute. After Professor Tamás's retirement in 1974, Professor László Dezső became project director. The number of permanent participants was 18. Nearly all of them were or had been practising teachers of English. They included researches at the Linguistics Institute, staff members and students of Departments of English and General Linguistics at various universities, lecturers at teacher training colleges, and teachers in commercial colleges and other institutes where English is taught as an auxiliary subject.

Most of the researchers were allocated 1 or 2 topics, contrasting different aspects of English and Hungarian. First a preliminary draft was completed which was discussed by all participants at monthly meetings. Next, a second draft was reviewed by project consultants. The American linguist-consultant throughout the project was Professor

William Nemser who offered regular assistance to project researchers. This year his main task has been to assist in editing project publications. The other American consultant during the second half of the project was Dr. Charles Carlson. On the Hungarian side the consultants were Professor Sándor Károly, Professor Ferenc Kiefer, Professor Lajos Lőrincze, and Professor Árpad Sebestyen who also reviewed the studies before they were submitted for publication.

Unlike other contrastive projects the English Hungarian Contrastive Linguistics Project scheduled no annual conferences. Instead monthly meetings were held during the academic year throughout the 3 years of the project. Other researchers, teachers, textbook writers and university undergraduates interested in the problems discussed were welcome. During the meetings, along with drafts of indivual project reports, topics of general interest, such as reports on relevant conferences, congresses, experiences of travel grantees, were presented. The meetings were supplemented by lecture series on Hungarian grammar and on contrastive linguistics offered by the late John Lotz and dr. William Nemser at the Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest.

To make it possible for a maximum number of researchers to visit and work in the United States, short-term rather than long-term travel grants were awarded. Nine participants spent three, four and five months in the States. Five grantees were from institutions outside Budapest, and four from the capital. Colleagues of the grantees — including those not taking part in the project — profited indirectly from the grants since the project workers not only employed the results of their visit in their own research but transmitted them to their colleagues as well.

Within the framework of the project, a special library was set up in the Linguistics Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences independent of the Institute Library. This made it possible for all the project workers to use the library and borrow works for longer periods. Book purchases included works of general interest but the wishes and interests of individual researchers were also considered.

Having introduced the general framework of our project, let me say a few words about our topics and publications.

Nearly all the researchers selected the topics from problems of English and Hungarian grammar and semantics. Only two Hungarian researchers dealt with phonological problems since considerable work had already been done much earlier in the United States by John Lotz, and under his supervision. One phonological study by Éva Diósy Stephanides, contrasted the American and British sound systems with special reference to implications for Hungarians learning English ; in other two studies László Varga dealt with English and Hungarian word-stress and sentence prosody.

Two additional studies were completed which dealt with the pedagogical implications of contrastive analysis and with error analysis. The former, by György Horlay, who analyzed problems in teaching the English Past Perfect ; the latter, by Tamás Várady, analyzed an error corpus of 17 thousand items. In nearly all the studies emphasis laid on the concrete implications of cited differences and similarities between the two systems in the form of predications of learning problems and of facilitation. Some studies, with the base and target languages, also examined aspects of the approximative system of Hungarian learners of English.

During the project period interim publications have been published in the project journal, *Working Papers* including both contrastive studies and background studies relevant to the project objectives. Seven issues of *Working Papers* have appeared, each volume in 500 copies. During the early stages of the project, Professors John Lotz and Lajos Tamas served as consulting editors. Laszló Dezső and William Nemser are the editors of the series with Eva Stephanides as assistant editor.

The first issue contains *Two Papers on English-Hungarian Contrastive Phonolgy* while the second is a study on *Script, Grammar and the Hungarian Writing System*, both written by the late John Lotz. The third volume in a survey by W. Nemser of the largely unpublished contrastive literature on English and Hungarian produced in the United States. *Working Paper Four* offers contributions by project participants to the Contrastive Conference at Pécs in 1971. These studies include a paper on typology and contrastive linguistics by Laszló Dezső and Williams Nemser ; a study on interrogative sentences by Ádam Nadasdy ; a study on British and American pronunciation by Mrs. Eva Diósy-Stephanides ; and an analytic survey of English and Hungarian textbooks of English by Eva Stephanides. Volume Five is a *Contrastive Study on the English and Hungarian Article* by Éva Stephanides, and Volume Six *A Contrastive Analysis of English and Hungarian Sentence Prosody* by Laszló Varga. The latest volume by Kálman Keresztes, contrasts Hungarian postpositions and English prepositions.

The final volume, which will be published by the Academy Publishing House in 1976, contains 15 studies of varying length on the following topics : on the English gerund, on the infinitive, on the participles and their equivalents in Hungarian, object and subject *that* clauses in English corresponding *hogy* clauses in Hungarian, sentence embedding, middle and causative constructions, word-stress, word-order, theme and rheme in Hungarian, syntactic structures of Hungarian verbal particles and the English equivalents, word-order of attributes in noun phrases, compound senteces, the problem of lexical interference, spatial adjectives, a study of the *had + been* form, a guide to Hungarian-English errors.

To sum up the present impact of the project we can say that it is many-sided. Several university doctoral dissertations and candidate dissertations, the products of project research, have been completed and others are in preparation. Several undergraduate theses were also initiated within the project framework. The project has also stimulated the inauguration of other contrastive projects in Hungary in which Hungarian is contrasted with Russian, French, Spanish, Serbo-Croatian, and Slovakian. It has also fostered interest in the teaching of English and general linguistics and contributed to the professional development of project participants both as researchers and as language teachers. One of the candidate dissertations written by Laszló Buday, the head of the English section in the Teacher Training College of Eger, is a contrastive pedagogical grammar for use by secondary school teachers. Experimental research on the teaching of English in kindergartens and in primary schools is scheduled to begin during the next academic year. New textbooks utilizing the results of the project are being written in preparation for the experimental school-reform of 1978 which precedes the prospective reform of 1990.

Further plans for the second phase cover the period of 1976—1980. The majority of the members of the present project will participate again, but several new members have been recruited, problems in grammar and semantics not dealt with yet will be analyzed. The drawing of pedagogical implications of the theoretical studies, and work in other research areas including translation and language contact will follow. Some studies dealing with English on other than a contrastive basis will also be included. Contemplated are an English grammar for university students based on the results of case grammar, and a study of the typological characteristics of English.

We plan to continue the publication of our *Working Papers* series and we intend to have annual meetings of 2 or 3 days instead of monthly discussions. However, plans for this phase remain in part indefinite.

This short report is followed by an appendix containing the list of publications.

Thank you for your attention.

APPENDIX

Publications of the English-Hungarian Contrastive Linguistics Project

THE LIST DOES NOT INCLUDE UNPUBLISHED DISSERTATIONS

Books

Working Papers 1—7. Linguistics Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Center for Applied Linguistics, Budapest. 1972—1975.

1. JOHN LOTZ: Two Papers on English-Hungarian Contrastive Phonology 1972.
2. JOHN LOTZ: Script, Grammar and the Hungarian Writing System 1972.
3. WILLIAM NEMSER: Contrastive Research on Hungarian and English in the United States 1972.
4. Four Papers of the Pécs Conference on Contrastive Linguistics (Pécs, 14—16 October 1971) 1973.
5. ÉVA STEPHANIDES: A Contrastive Study of the English and Hungarian Article 1974.
6. LÁSZLÓ VARGA: A Contrastive Analysis of English and Hungarian Sentence Prosody 1975.
7. KÁLMÁN KERESZTES: Hungarian Postposition vs. English Preposition 1975.

Articles, studies, conference contributions

1. DEZSŐ, L. — W. NEMSER: Tipológia és kontrastív nyelvészet (Typology and Contrastive Linguistics) 13—45.

2. BOGNAR, J.: A magyar és az angol nyelv cselekvés-reláció rendszerei kontrasztív egybevetésének néhany kerdése (Some Qustions on the Contrastive Analysis of Action-Relation System in English and Hungarian) 248—58.
3. HEGEDÜS, J.: Egyenértékűség es egybevető elemzés (Equivalence and Contrastive Analysis) 223—31.
4. KORPONAY, B.: A kauzativitas magyar-angol összevető vizsgálata (A Contrastive Analysis of Causativity) 271—82.
5. STEPHANIDES, E.: Angol nyelvi tankönyvek nyelvtani felépitésének kontrasztív elemzése (A Contrastive Analysis on Grammar in Textbooks of English) 258—64.
6. STEPHANIDES KAROLYNE: A brit és az amerikai angol nyelv jellegzetes különbségel (Characteristic Differences in British and American English) 231—36.

The above listed 6 studies appeared in *Osszevető nyelvvizsgalat, nyelvoktatás* (Contrastive Analysis and Language Teaching) Tankönyvkiadó, 1972.

7. NEMSER V. — STEPHANIDES E.: Problems in the Contrastive Semantic Analysis of English and Hungarian. Jelentéstan és stilisztika. (Semantics and Stylistics). Nyelvtudomanyi értekezések 83. 1974. 414—21.
8. KORPONAY, B.: Difficulties of Teaching English on an Advanced level. 223—27.
9. STEPHANIDES, E.: A Two-way Contrastive Study of Articles in English and Hungarian. 237—45.

The above mentioned 2 studies appeared in *Modern Linguistics and Language Teaching*. Akadémia Kiadó, 1975.

10. VARGA, L.: An Introduction to a Contrastive Analysis of Hungarian and English Sentence Intonation.

Forthcoming books and studies:

Contrastive Linguistic Studies in English and Hungarian edited by László Dezső and William J. Nemser will be published 1976 by the Academy Publishing House. The volume contains the following 15 studies:

1. ANDRAS, L.: Spatial Adjectives: an English-Hungarian Contrastive study.
2. CSAPÓ, J.: The Problem of Lexical Interference in English and Hungarian.
3. DEZSŐ, L.: Word-order, Theme and Rheme in Hungarian and the Problems of Word-order Acquisition.
4. E. KISS, K.: Participles and their Hungarian Equivalents.
5. HELL, GY.: Object and subject *that* Clauses in English and Corresponding *hogy* Clauses in Hungarian.
6. HELL, GY.: Compound Sentences in English and Hungarian.
7. HORLAY, GY.: A Contrastive Study of the *had + been* form.
8. KENESEI, I.: Sentence Embedding in English and Hungarian.
9. KORPONAY, B.: Middle and Causative Construction in English and Hungarian.
10. NÉRAY, J.: A Contrastive Study of Word-Order of Attributes in Noun Phrases in Hungarian and English.

11. STEPHANIDES-DIÓSY, É. : A Contrastive Analysis of the English Gerund and its Hungarian Equivalents.
12. STEPHANIDES, E. : A Contrastive Analysis of the English Infinitive and its Hungarian Equivalents.
13. VÁRADI, T. : A. Guide to Hungarian-English Errors.
14. VARGA, L. : A Contrastive Analysis of English and Hungarian Word-Stress.
15. VÖRÖS, J. : Hungarian Verbal Particles and their English Equivalents.

Studies forthcoming in Hungarian periodicals :

16. VÁRADI, T. : A hibaelemzés néhány kérdéséről. (Some Qustions on Error Analysis). Modern Nyelvoktatás (Modern Language Teaching).
17. VARGA, L. : Az angol intonáció oktatásának néháy kérdése. (Some Questions on the Teaching of English Intonation) Idegen nyelvek oktatása (Modern Language Teaching).

Studies forthcoming in periodicals abroad :

18. CSAPÓ, J. : A Contrastive Study of English-Hungarian Affixial Adjectivalization, Mouton.
19. DEZSŐ, L. : Theory and Laws in Typology and Contrastive Linguistics, Mouton.
20. VÁRADI, T. : Strategies of Target Language Communication : Message adjustment (IRAL).
21. STEPHARIDES, E. : A Two-way Analysis of English and Hungarian Textbooks on English, ERIC.

THE FINNISH-ENGLISH CONTRASTIVE PROJECT : OBJECTIVES AND PRESENT STATE

KARI SAJAVAARA

1. Introduction

A systematic contrastive analysis of Finnish and English was begun at the Departments of English and Phonetics of the University of Jyväskylä in 1974. Since September 1975, the Department of Finnish has also been involved in the project. Some sporadic, although quite well known, Finnish-English contrastive studies had been carried out before (notably Wiik 1965 and 1966). We are now only making a start when, according to some linguists, the boom of contrastive analysis should be over (see eg. Alatis 1968 and James 1971). We started some ten years later than many others and after some severe criticism had been directed against contrastive analysis. This present conference, however, is a strong enough indication of contrastive analysis still being topical.

There were several reasons for us to begin the work, some of which can be directly derived from the objectives of contrastive analysis, such as we see it, and some must be seen against the aims of university-level training in linguistics and language teaching in Finland. The contrastive analysis project provides an excellent framework for such a training programme.

2. Objectives

The project aims at a comprehensive two-way contrastive analysis of Finnish and English. The primary objectives are applied, and mainly pedagogical. This must be seen against the background of the limited resources we have in Finland, not simply financial but also as regards staff. Linguistics has not been taught on any large scale in Finland (there is only one chair, which is in Helsinki), and it takes a rather long time to train people from the very beginning : in Finland it takes some six to seven years for students to graduate. Although English is by far the most important foreign language taught, Finland is a small country and it cannot be expected that all of our students should be involved in the project.

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The contrastive material collected will be used to produce a pedagogical contrastive grammar of English for Finnish students and a similar grammar of English for those who approach Finnish through English. It is self-evident that the first objective is more important, although there seems to be growing interest in Finnish all over the world and the material available at present is not entirely satisfactory. We will aim at pedagogical applications as directly as possible, but we hope to be able to deal with some theoretical problems, and considering the characteristic features of the Finnish language, this cannot be avoided. The secondary aims of the project include contributions to the theory of language, applied linguistics, contrastive linguistics, and Finnish and English grammars.

We think that most of the criticism directed against contrastive analysis is invalid, although we think that it was well grounded as criticism of the early mid-sixties type of contrastive analysis. This does not mean that contrastive analysis as an approach to language teaching problems should be neglected because of this criticism. At the present moment we do not know what type of contrastive analysis is really needed for language teaching purposes. So far there is no complete pedagogical grammar based on modern contrastive principles, and therefore it is rather futile to criticize modern applied contrastive linguistics. Nobody any more gives expression to such extreme ideas as that contrastive analysis should reveal all the learning problems of the target language. It is well-known that language learning (both L1 and L2) is always an individual's accomplishment also : contrastive analysis cannot predict everything that materializes in this process. Psychological, sociological and other parameters in second-language learning are not much better known today than they were some twenty years ago, but there is enough evidence of L1 interference of some kind ; if there is interference, contrastive analysis obviously has some relevance in the building up of the learning process. We must remember, however, that applied contrastive analysis should not be carired out in a vacuum without any reference to the individual, who is after all supposed to be the target of all our exertions.

It seems quite obvious now that the Finnish-English contrastive analysis project will not continue as a straight-forward grammatical analysis project in the traditional sense of the term. Today, no justification can be seen for this. Expansion of the contrastive framework will be sought in psycho-sociolinguistic interactional analysis, in the analysis of learning strategies and in the general theory of communication. Ideas of this kind have been becoming more and more common in contrastive literature (eg. Golopentia-Eretescu 1974 and Janicki 1975), and they reflect the general trend in linguistic science from the study of rather restricted atomistic categories to wider entities — from words and morphemes to sentences first, then to texts or discourse, until now, it seems, we are approaching the study of the entire world. In contrastive terms, this seems to lead us back to nothing else but the contrasting of cultures and also to the old problems of the relativity hypothesis. To a certain extent, Finnish and Hungarian are in a rather interesting position because they are both non-Indo-European languages spoken within the Western cultural heritage, at least broadly speaking, and it can be assumed that some of the results of communicative contrastive analysis may reveal features which remain concealed in an analysis of two genetically related languages.

If we mean our contrastive analysis to fulfil the applied pedagogical objectives, we have to pay attention to the aims of foreign language teaching in Finland. If we want applications, we cannot start from linguistics ; we have to start from the needs of language teaching. There are two tendencies which we have to remember for the establishement of a general framework for our project :

(i) In our comprehensive school language teaching, the main emphasis lies on spoken language.

(ii) There is a need for English for special purposes, both at the secondary and at the tertiary (university level) of language teaching.

The first of these tendencies brings up the question of interactional contrastive analysis, for which I would like to use the restricted term of conversational analysis (see Golopentia-Eretescu 1974). As Kühlwein (1975 : 87) says, it is very important to know what *is actually expressed* in the foreign language in addition to knowing what *can* be expressed.

The demand for English for special purposes, on the other hand, brings up the question of the contrastive analysis of specialized varieties of two languages. This is also a problem of reading comprehension to a great extent, in contrast to foreign language teaching in comprehensive schools. All people who are taught can read ; what we are expected to study is the problems of reading texts in another language.

We easily overemphasize the native non-native contrast. From a Finn's point of view, English is a language of international communication, a common code. Our language teaching can profit from a closer definition of the language teaching objectives because we cannot after all aim at producing native speakers of English ; however good our students are, they remain L2 speakers. In language teaching discussions we should also drop terms like 'perfect English' and 'a native speaker's command of English', which are still seen in certain contexts, because what such phrases describe are abstractions only. In a recent publications, Chiţoran (1974) has called for a closer scrutiny of L2 learning against the background of L1. The distinction between first-language acquisition and second-language learning, which is quite often made, may be misleading, and it might be of some relevance to return to the term 'language development', as is suggested for L1 by Halliday (1974 : 13). In the Hallidayan sense, both L1 and L2 could be seen as processes of 'learning how to mean', as he puts it (Halliday 1975), or in many cases, when we deal with L2, as processes of 'learning how to understand'.

The difference between 'learning how to mean' and 'learning how to understand' brings us to one more, rather neglected, aspect of contrastive analysis. Since many studies deal with idealized native speakers, not enough attention is paid to the difference between the production and the reception sides of the communicative act. This is where contrastive analysis and error analysis meet : error analysis is needed by the side of contrastive analysis to reveal the misinterpretations of the signals (cues) which exist in a communicative situation.

3. Theoretical background

Before pedagogical applications of contrastive analysis can be produced, we have to decide what we mean by a pedagogical grammar, and this definition, which is at the same time the objective of our work, assumes certain hypotheses about language and language teaching.

As is obvious from what was said before, the Finnish-English project will be mainly concerned with language in use. It atempts to be communicative and psycho-sociolinguistic and will be mainly based on the ideas developed by M. A. K. Halliday (1973, 1974, 1975), Christopher Candlin (1973), Geoffrey Leech and Jan Svartvik (1975), and David Wilkins (1972).

A pedagogical grammar must be based on semantics and pragmatics. Between languages so different as Finnish and English this is obligatory ; mere syntactic study is insufficient. Such a grammar should connect linguistic elements with the social and functional features of the context. There is no formal grammar available which in sufficient for such a pedagogical grammar (see eg. Candlin 1973 : 55—56).

It is possible to see every language learner as a bilingual (cf. Christophersen 1973 : 70—71), and thus learning L2 means a new stage in an individual's language development or an extension of his communicative competence. Language is contextually determined, and in many cases knowing what people use language for may be more important than studying the purely linguistic parameters (Halliday 1974 : 27). Knowing a language means, among other things, an ability to select from a number of potential choices the ones that are appropriate to one particular speech event. The language user should be able to "read real situations and derive from them specifications for relevant language activity' (Doughty 1974 : 48). On the other hand, the interpretation of messages is not only based on the 'linguistic' features of the utterance. The importance of the context cannot be overemphasized.

Marton (1974 : 186) points out that in contrastive analysis we should be interested in what the learner has to know in addition to his mother tongue to be able to express himself in L2. Marton emphasizes knowing in the psychological sense, but we should also like to add the sociological dimension. It seems that it is this combination of psychological and sociological parameters of language in use that makes it possible for us to avoid the danger of parallel descriptions in applied contrastive analysis.

Our phonological and phonetic studies reject the theories of phonology as a starting point because we think that they cannot be applied to phonological elements in two languages. The rather arbitrary procedure, which tries to establish the 'equivalent' and 'non-equivalent' elements, is mental because an attempt is made to categorize elements which exist at the mental level only and are usually manifested by totally different kinds of markers in actual speech. Traditional contrastive analyses are only parallel descriptions. The way to avoid the arbitrary character of the confrontations is to test the intuitive substitutions, both in perception and in production, of foreign-language learners at various levels. These intuitive substitutions are studied on the basis of the concept of identification cues which was developed by the Haskins group (see the writings of Pierre Delattre ; eg. Delattre 1968). In a communicative situation, the receiver unconsciously makes use of certain features, identification cues, in the physical stream of sound waves. The phonological categories are perceived, not their cues. What we are studying is not interference in the traditional sense but interference caused by phonetic identification cues.

The work which has been done so far shows clearly that the analysis of the identification cues explains many of the pronunciation errors which cannot be explained by other systematic analyses. Vowel lengthening may, for instance, function as a cue for two different categories in L1 and L2.

4. Practical procedures

Practical reasons make it necessary for us to approach contrastive problems from an eclectic point of view : different problems are approached from an angle that suits them and the research-worker concerned. The results will be collected and passed through a filter which, it is hoped, will transform the material into a uniform pattern to be used for pedagogical purposes. The material is collected separately for each individual study. In most cases, the main body of the material will be based on translation equivalence and collected from translations readily available. Such basic data is expanded by means of material collected from grammars and specialized studies. The material gathered for individual studies will later function as a partial corpus for future studies. This corpus will be coded ; we are at present working on a code in which the main emphasis lies on semantic features and discourse analysis.

The phonological studies all start from similar basic principles and the material is partly the same. The points of interference in the cue pattern are found through perception and production tests with natural and synthetic speech. Acoustic analysis of speech is also used. All the tests used consist of real words and senteces. Finnish school children, university students, and native speakers of English are used as members of the test group. The main emphasis lies on the pronunciation problems of university students.

For practical reasons, the project is divided into two sections : one deals with phonetics and phonology and related matters and the other with syntax, semantics and morphology as well as other features which come up. The phonetics section is directed by Jaakko Lehtonen, Associate Professor of Phonetics at the University of Jyväskylä, and the other by Kary Sajavaara, Associate Professor of English at the same university, who is also the director of the entire project.

The project collaborates with departments of English at Abo Akademi and the universities of Joensuu and Oulu, and individual research-workers have joined the project from the universities of Helsinki and Tamppere and the Kouvola Language Institute. There is a particularly close tie with the error-analysis project launched by Håkan Ringbom at Abo Akademi. In November 1975 an agreement was made with the Finnish Department of the School of Slavonic and Eastern European Studies of the University of London concerning future cooperation. In the future, it is hoped that the syntactic materials collected by the Finnish Department at the University of Turku and the sociolinguistic material collected by the Finnish Department at Oulu can be used for the purposes of the project.

We are particularly happy about the close cooperation at international level between various contrastive analysis projects. As late beginners we can profit enormously from the advances of contrastive studies in other countries, and since our aims are practical, we hope to be able to make use of the theoretical material produced by the other projects. Our contacts with the Polish-English project have been particularly lively, and a concrete manifestation was the fact that Dr. Miroslaw Nowakowski from Poznań lectured on contrastive linguistics throughout the autumn term of 1975 in Jyväskylä. Exchange of contrastive material with other centres of contrastive studies and personal contacts have been and will be of great importance. The cooperation between English contrastive analysis projects serves as a good example of international cooperation in a field, i.e. English studies, where few people could expect to see collaboration of this kind. I suppose this alone is a sufficient excuse for contrastive analysis.

The main body of work will be carried out in the form of masters' theses and postgraduate theses (there are two levels in Finland : licentiate and doctoral). Some fifty masters' theses and about a dozen licentiate theses are under preparation. The first master's thesis was completed in November 1975 and the first licentiate thesis will be finished in January 1976.

The individual studies can be classified under six headings :

(a) *taxonomic studies* contrasting similar surface categories or starting from a category in one language and seeking its surface exponents in the other ;

(b) *semantic studies* starting from a common semantic feature and seeking its realizations in both languages ;

(c) *communicative, interactional and functional studies,* in which problems of speech acts, textlinguistics (and discourse analysis) and cultural context will be taken up ;

(d) *lexical studies* based on the concept of lexical fields and componential analysis ;

(e) *phonetic and phonological studies ;*

(f) *error and textbook analysis ;* and

(g) *studies relating to learning strategies.*

This order does not reflect any order of importance.

Taxonomic studies are mainly needed for information about the Finnish language. It seems, however, that communicative and functional studies will assume a primary position towards later stages of the project.

There are two major problems : the training of collaborators and the scarcity of material available about Finnish. It will take some time before we get round the training problems. As for Finnish, it seems that in many cases the collaborators will have to find their own way. It is to be hoped that in the long run the contrastive project could also prove valuable in the field of Finnish studies.

The results of the project will be published in a series of reports by the Department of English under the title 'Jyväskylä Contrastive Studies'. The first volume, which was published in November 1975, is a select bibliography of contrastive analysis of some 1,000titles (Sajavaara and Lehtonen 1975). At least two issues are planned for 1976. The reports will be either monographs or collections of shorter papers. We hope to be able to publish a preliminary version of the pedagogical contrastive Finnish-English grammar round 1980 ; a draft for the phonetics section is expected to be ready earlier, possibly early in 1977.

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AN OUTLINE OF THE PROJECT FORUM APPLIED LINGUSTICS OF THE INTERNATIONAL HASSELT CONFERENCE

WOLFGANG KÜHLWEIN

Introductory Remark

As the Project FORUM APPLIED LINGUISTICS is not a genuinely contrastive linguistic project, it stands in line with the renowned Eastern European Contrastive Analysis Projects, which are reported in this volume, only to rather a limited extent. However, it encompasses contrastive linguistic conceptual and methodological tools as well as results of contrastive analyses as one of its major components-perhaps as its most essential one.

The International Hasselt Conference (IHC)

The *IHC*, which had been founded in 1970 under the sponsorship of the Postuniversitair Centrum Hasselt/Belgium (since 1973 part of the University of the Belgian Province of Limburg at Diepenbeek) comprises as its permanent members

— the applied linguistic team of the language centre of the University of Louvain as the Belgian representative, since 1972 joined by the English linguistic team of the recently founded University of Diepenbeek

— the applied linguistic team of the Centre des Recherches et d'Application Pédagogiques en Langues *(C.R.A.P.E.L.)* of the University of Nancy as the French representative

— the applied linguistic team of the language centre of the University of Utrecht as the Dutch representative

— the English theoretical and applied linguistic team and the French applied linguistic team of the University of Trier and its language centre as the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany

— (and since 1973 :) the applied linguistic team of the language centre of the University of Lancaster as the representative of Great Britain.

Altogether the *IHC* comprises appr. 25 linguists, who semiannually meet for two-day workshops for the purpose of exchange and coordination of the linguistic research done at its various centres, and for carrying out joint applied linguistic projects. Apart from planning a joint postgraduate program leading towards an International Doctorate in Applied Linguistics its major concern up to now has been the realization of the project FORUM APPLIED LINGUISTICS. The hinge of the next project will be 'Applied Linguistics in Adult Education (Education Permanente)' ('Sprachandragogik').

Aims of the project FORUM APPLIED LINGUISTICS

In most Western European countries the present situation in foreign language teaching is characterized (apart from the well-known shortcomings related to proper teaching materials) by two serious disadvantages on the teachers' side :

— many foreign language teachers have received quite a solid philological but no modern linguistic training

— many foreign language teachers have received a solid theoretical but no applied linguistic training.

If the hypothesis of the project, that theoretical linguistic insights as filtered by applied linguistics can be conducive to the teachers' task of didactic programming is correct, systematic retraining courses are necessary for both above mentioned types of teachers.

As a consequence the aim of FORUM APPLIED LINGUISTICS consists of inducing the foreign language teacher to reconsider theoretical and methodological problems of his everyday teaching practice in a critical way.

As teacher retraining cannot only mean to acquire new knowledge (e. g. the most recently developed models of linguistic description), but critical observation and analysis of one's everyday teaching practice, theoretical and methodological syntheses as provided by this project will equip the teacher with the theoretical and methodological tools, which are necessary for him to cope with recent and future linguistic trends, and which should provide him with criteria for reassessing and evaluating (and, hopefully, improving) what he actually is doing. Such a conception of teachers' retraining, admittedly, contains a neo-Humboldtian component. [1].

Organization of the project FORUM APPLIED LINGUISTICS

As there are no compulsory teacher retraining courses in our countries the project is based on a multimedial system, which can spontaneously and flexibly be used by the practising teachers.

A first version of the project centered round a sequence of 25 half-hour radio emissions by a Northern French University Broadcast Network in 1972/73 [2].

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[1] Wolfgang Kühlwein, 'Some Social Implications of Language Study', *Monograph Series on Languages and Lingustics, ed.* K. Jankowsky, XXIV (1973), 19—24.

[2] The respective written materials have been published as a pilot-version by the Sekretariat Postuniversitair Centrum Limburg, Elfde Liniestraat 24, B-3500 Hasselt (Belgium) as International Hasselt Conference on Applied Lingustics, *Cycle de Linguistique Appliquée à la Pédagogie des Langues*, 3. vols. 191 pp. Copies of the broadcast emissions of the French pilot-version can be obtained from the same address.

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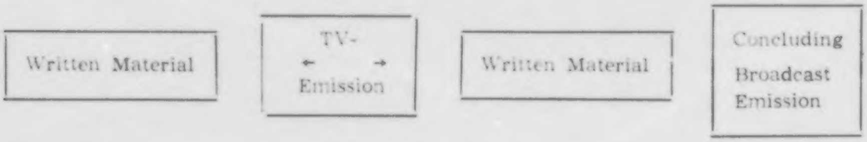
In addition each registered participant was supplied with written material for the purpose of intensifying and practising. A second version is at present being produced by the IHC for Belgium. There each unit uses written materials as its core (as one of the consequences from a follow-up investigation after the French version), inserts one resp. two TV emissions at the proper places (also a consequence of the French follow-up questionnaire) and is concluded by a broadcast panel-discussion of the authors resp. a 'question hour', where the authors treat participants' question in a 'feedback emission' :



Advantages of this structure are :

— it does not require the physical presence of the geographically often widely scattered participants in specifically organized groups (cf. the 'Begleitzirkel' of the German 'Funkkolleg Sprache', for which it had often proved fairly difficult to find qualified leaders)

— it allows for copying the TV- and the broadcast emissions individually, to use them whenever necessary

— one half-hour emission per week allows for using and evaluating what has been learnt by the teacher in his own class.

Of course, the extent to which different units lend themselves to treatment by different media varies greatly.

Substance of the project FORUM APPLIED LINGUISTICS

The following units are contained in the meanwhile concluded French version of the project, if not otherwise stated.

General Introduction

This initial part of the program gives a general outline of the entire project resp. its individual components of applied linguistic research as they are carried out at the various centres according to their respective major fields of research, presents the objectives and the didactic processing.

Three primarily learner-oriented units (Motivation, Attitude, Aptitude, and Learning Processes), four code-oriented units (Spoken vs. Written Language, Phonology, Syntax, Lexis), and four more teacher-oriented units (First vs. Second Language, Contrastive Analysis and Error Analysis, Teaching Methods and Techniques, Evaluation and Tests) follow.

Motivation (produced by Louvain)

Along with age, attitude, and aptitude the learner's motivation is a major factor of the initial stage-setting of a teacher's didactic work.

The main types of motivation are investigated, such as operational motivation (strongly present in young pupils) and the various subtypes of functional motivation, e. g. intellectual motivation (the joy in 'cracking the code' of a foreign language), integrational motivation (strong sympathy for the respective country etc.), instrumental motivation (practical aims like better jobs, enlarging one's knowledge, languages for special purposes etc.), emancipatory motivation (the desire to cope with new situations in the foreign language according to one's own actual wishes and demands, instead of merely being able to behave along the lines laid down by the strict textbook pattern drills). Cross-cultural empirical pedagogical-psycho-sociological investigations concerning motivational and attitudinal foctors of learners among the speech communities which are represented in the *IHC* are carried out.

Aptitude (Nancy)

Here the impact of psychological, sociological, cultural, and physiological factors of the individual, language-specific, functional, and communicative-situational criteria on foreign language teaching is discussed [3].

Learning Processes (Louvain)

The foreign language teacher is made familiar here with how foreign language acquisition works within the learner along the variables rendered by different linguistic levels (grammatical competence) and skills (communicative competence), which in turn are strongly seen as being embedded in the wider framework of socio-cultural competence, involving pragmatic factors. This part of the program is based on experimental work carried out at the Louvain language centre which is fairly well in line with the tenets held by the respective pragma-socio-psycholinguistic research as carried out at the psycholinguistic laboratory of the University of Bucharest [4]. A cross-tabulation of learning conditions (Gagné) with learning processes (rote learning *vs.* discovery learning ; receptive learning *vs.* meaningful learning ; Ausubel) yields a highly cognitive approach for the higher learning tasks of rule-learning and problem-solving via an empirically based elaborate system of symbolic and indexalic mediators [5] as opposed to more behavioristic strategies.

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[3] T. Slama-Cazacu, 'The Concepts of "Acquisition Corpus", „Aberrant Corpus", and "Hierarchical System of Errors" in Contrastive Analysis'. *Prorceeding of the 3rd AILA Congress Copenhagen 1972. Vol. I : Applied Contrasive Linguistics*, ed. G. Nickel, (1974), 235—251.

[4] L. K. Engels e.a., *The Magic Key*. Plantyn. Deurne-Antwerp, (1976).

[5] As regards the conception underlying the relationship between contrastive linguistics and error analysis cf. A. Barrera-Vidal / W. Kühlwein, *Angewandte Linguistik für den fremdsprachlischen Unterricht : Eine Einführung*, (Dortmund : Lensing, 1975), 108—143.
and
W. Kühlwein, 'Grundsatzfragen der Kontrastiven Linguistik', *Neusprachliche Mitteilungen* 28 (1975), 80—92.

Spoken vs. Written Language (Nancy)

The limitations of the parameters which are currently held responsible for the distinctive characteristics of spoken vs. written language (channel ; situation and theme ; formal characteristics of a text) led to the respective work carried out at the C.R.A.P.E.L. of the University of Nancy to give priority to the distinction spontaneous vs. non-spontaneous kinds of utterances. This distinction along with its pedagogical implications is applied to various types of discourse.

Phonology (Trier)

Along with the units Syntax and Lexis this unit does not so much refer to socio-cultural but to grammatical (and communicative) competence. All three units are based on contrastive linguistics.

The enlarged Belgian version (which, actually, is more semantically based, and where, as a consequence, phonology does not precede but follow the semantic and syntactic units) traces the present-day didactic procedures in phonology as they are derived from traditional, structural, and generative linguistics, respectively, provides such an amount of phonemic theory (mainly on the basis of articulatory phonetics) as is required for the language teacher on the segmental and prosodic plane as well as in the paralinguistic domain, contrasts the Dutch vowel, diphthongal, and consonantal systems with the respective English, French, German and Polish systems, tentatively approaches contrastive statements as regards semantic and attitudinal functions of prosodic and paralinguistic features (again with Dutch as Source Language), and thus arrives at limited prediction of erros, checking these, however, by error analysis, viewed here as the complementary empirical counterpart to contrastive analyses [6].

Syntax (Trier)

The syntax unit rests on a semantosyntactic basis of a modified type of case-grammar (Fillmore, Huddleston, Kiparsky), illustrated by the functions of completive propositions as in '*That John got married* surprised us', and its didactic consequences concerning case frame contrasts for English as target language and Dutch, German, and French as source languages [7].

Lexis (Trier)

This unit concentrates on the requirements of a dictionary based on componential analysis and compatible with the theoretical requirements of the approach adopted in the syntactic unit and deals with central problems in the teaching of vocabulary such as lexical fields and synonymy [8].

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[6] Cf. R. Dirven / G. Radden, *Semantische Syntax des Englischen* (Wiesbaden : Athenaion 1976).

[7] Cf. W. Kühlwein, 'Linguistische Aspekte der Wortfelddidaktik' *ITL* 17 (1972), 15—35.

J. Strauß, 'Kontrastive Lexik', in : *Deutsch als Fremdsprache und neuere Linguistik*, ed. O. Werner / G. Fritz. (München : Hueber, 1975) 222—235.

Thus the overall structure of the units phonology, syntax, and lexicology (in the Belgian version) is :

(a) present-day theory and practice, (b) theoretical contrastive linguistic statements for source language Dutch, (c) application, heading towards an improved teaching practice. The contrastive statements should make the teacher aware of the fact that what L_1 expresses e. g. on the syntactic level might as well be expressed by lexical or phonological means by L_2, and to make him abandon the 'compartmentalized', level-restricted view on language, to induce him to start searching for correspondences right across all language levels. The second stage is to bring to light the system/norm distinction ; 'system' is here understood as what is obligatorily provided by the structural requirements of a specific language, 'norm' is here understood not in a prescriptive sense but as what is normally, actually being expressed by its users ; here the domain of style is approached, concentrating on distinctions which *must* be made in L_1 (e. g. russ. *sinij* vs. *goluboj*), which need not necessarily but *can* be made in L_2 (e. g. germ. either *hellblau* vs. *dunkelblau*, but also just *blau*, thus evading the distinction). At this point semantico-*pragmatic* constraints have to be considered in more detail. The project would, therefore, like to enlarge the typology of contrastive analyses as presented by. V. Ivir at the occasion of the First Conference of Contrastive Linguistic Projects at Zagreb 1971 by one further type, where not forms or linguistic functions nor linguistic processes serve as the reference points for the respective contrasts, but appropriate use in situations. The catalogue of 'notions', as developed by David A. Wilkins in *Grammatical, Situational, and Notional Syllabuses*. Proceedings of the Third International Congress of Applied Linguistics, Copenhagen 1972, Vol. 2, *ed.* A. Verdoodt, 254—265. Heidelberg, 1974, where the question is posed, how e.g. *agreement*, *slight disagreement*, *strong disagreement*, *explicit disavowal* etc. are expressed in a foreign language can serve as a starting point.

The respective higly pragmatic research urgently awaits to encorporate the contrastive component to a degree sufficient not only for contrastive statements on this basis but also for being exploited by the language teacher. Within this framework it will be the task of further error-analyses and tests to provide the necessary information concerning the successive 'approximative stages' (Nemser) not only as regards grammatical competence but also with regard to *the communicative and pragmatic components of foreign language usage,* in order to atone a contrastive grammar to the requirements of the language learning processes in this 'fourth' (pragmatic) dimension of linguistics as well.

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[8] Cf. R. Dirven / W. Hünig / W. Kühlwein / G. Radden / J. Strauß, *Die Leistung der Linguistik für den Englischunterricht* (Tübingen : Niemeyer, 1976).

First Language Acquisition/Second Language Learning (Nancy)

This unit draws the general didactic consequences from the preceding code-oriented and contrastively based contributions, and points out to the differences between first language acquisition and second language learning from the teacher's and from the learner's point of view. Despite the differences caused by criteria of developmental psychology emphasis is laid on the requirement that second language learning does not merely mean the formation of new linguistic habits ; as first language acquisition goes along with and coins conceptual development to a large extent, second language learning cannot merely be 'education' but must be 'reeducation' — at least in those cases where L_2-structures clearly diverge from L_1-structures. As a consequence neither a one-sided natural, direct imitation method alone will do, nor the older and equally one-sided grammar translation method alone, but an integrated method is called for.

Contrastive Analysis and Error Analysis (Utrecht)

The integrated approach advocated above does only require from the teacher a basic knowledge of the L_1/L_2-contrasts, as outlined in the preceding code-oriented subject-units but also calls for his familiarity with the basic conceptual and methodological procedures of theoretical contrastive linguistics in order to convey to him a true estimation of the possibilities — and limitations — of the role of contrastive linguistics when he sets out to devise his didactic strategies, especially as regards the predictive power of contrastive statements for learners' errors, the distinction between linguistically based errors and those which originate from psychological criteria inherent in the learning situation ; it is only with errors of the former type where the teacher can take to contrastive linguistics, and within this category only the interlingual errors (arising from the L_1/L_2-contrast) can be predicted by contrastive linguistics and remedied by a contrastively based devising of didactic strategies. At this systematic point error analysis can help to distinguish between interlingual and intralingual errors (arising from contrasts within the L_2).

Even more restraint is imposed on the contrastive linguist when it comes to the final stage of devising one's methodic presentation in class. Applied contrastive linguistics is primarily concerned with what goes on in the kitchen rather than what is being served by the waiter ! In this function it also plays an important part in the following unit.

Evaluation : Modern Language Testing (Utrecht)

This unit sets out from the importance of testing for the learner and for the teacher ; along with error analysis it is the only technique giving access to the approximative stages underlying linguistic performance, and can thus deliver feedback for the devising of the next higher stages. Thus second language learning becomes a self-regulating dynamic process. The teacher is made familiar with the various kinds of tests and their use, like aptitude, proficiency, achievement, and diagnostic tests and their basic techniques like open-ended questions or multiple choice questions. The teacher is also provided with the main criteria relevant for evaluating ready-made tests, such as reliability, validity, and practicality, as well as with construction criteria which are necessary to devise tests on his own, such as relevance, balance, difficulty, objectivity, efficiency, differenciation, reliability, fairness, and specificity ; the basic techniques for establishing psychometric indices (mean, distribution, range, standard deviation, p-value/facility value, d-value/discrimination index, reliability constraints), and strategies for the construction of tests for both lower (grammatical) and higher (communicative, skill-oriented) level teaching objectives are also provided.

Teaching Methods and Techniques (Trier and Louvain)

On the background of the previous more linguistically, code-oriented units and the more didactically oriented ones this unit concentrates on their impact on actual teaching methods. The techniques of audio-visual instruction, its efficacy, and methods to evaluate this efficacy, is taken as the first illustrating example. The second illustrating example is the programming of an individualized, but teacher-controlled type of instruction, aided by a 'Magnetotheque', aiming at the mastery of certain syntactic and semantic structures via the respective types of tests and exercises.

The final structure of the Belgian version is characterized by the three major components of competence : socio-cultural competence, communicative competence, and grammatical competence, which are put into a structural relationship to the components Sender, Message, Receiver, Code, Context, and Contact of a model of communication. Consequently the anthropo-psycho-sociological and pragmatic frameowrk of (applied)linguistic research of the *IHC* will be strengthened. As both foreign language learning and foreign language use are increasingly seen as being strongly dominated by this interdisciplinary frame, a unit 'area studies' (Landeskunde) will be included, and systematically related to the others.

Furthermore extra units will be devoted to the specific problems which are posed by the teaching of foreign languages to adults.

II.

APPROACHES

ON CONTRASTING CONTRASTIVE GRAMMARS
(Negation, Interrogation and Emphasis in English and Romanian)

EMANUEL VASILIU

1. The aim of this paper is a proposal for a grammar in terms of which Romanian and English are contrasted with respect to the features involved in *total negative, total interrogative* and verb *emphasized* sentence is a sentence the verb of which is made in some way *prominent*. One possibility in English for making the verb prominent is by stressing *the auxiliary* verb, when it really occurs (as in *John has left already)* or by "inserting" the auxiliary *do* when no other auxiliary is present (as in *John does leave today).* In Romanian, when the verb is emphasized, the verb itself is stressed.

The contrasting features to be accounted for are the folloming :

(i) The negation morpheme in Romanian is prefixed to the auxiliary when it occurs, as in

(1) *Ion* **n-a** *venit* "John has not come" ;

it the VP does not contain any auxiliary, the negation is directly prefixed to the verb, as in

(2) *Ion* **nu vine** "John does not come".

In English, the negation morpheme in *always* attached to the auxiliary : if the VP already contains an auxiliary (such as *will, have, shall, can* etc.), the negation is attached to it :

(1') *John* **has not** *come.*

When such an auxiliary is absent, then the auxiliary *do* is "inserted" and the negation is attached to it :

(2') *John* **does not** *come.*

If the VP contains *more than one* auxiliary verb, then the negation is placed in front of the first one in Romanian :

(3) *Ion* **nu va** *fi mers la școală.* "John will not have gone to school".

In English, the auxiliary is placed *after the first* auxiliary verb (see also the English translation of (3)) :

(4) *John* **has not** *been reading the book.*

(ii) In interrogative sentences the subject-NP inversion is *optional* in Romanian, whereas in English, it is *obligatory.*

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Romanian interrogative constructions with inversion are characterized by the fact that the subject-NP is placed *after the (main) verb* and *never* between the auxiliary and the verb. We have, thus :

(5) *A venit Ion ?* "Has John come ?" or "Did John come ?"

(6) *Va fi venit Ion ?* "Will John have come ?"

and never :

(5′) * *A Ion venit ?*

(6′) * *Va Ion fi venit ?*

As opposed to Romanian, English requires the subject-NP to be placed *immediately after the (first) auxiliary verb :*

(7) **Has John** come ?

(8) **Has John** *been reading the book ?*

If the verbal tense is not expressed by means of an auxiliary verb, then the auxiliary *do* is "inserted", so that the subject-NP ocupies the place immediately after the auxiliary *do :*

(9) *Does John come often ?*

Obviously, in Romanian, the interrogative sentence must be accompanied by the specific *rising intonation* *.

(iii) In English, when one wants to put some emphasis on the fact of asserting something by the verb, one is never allowed to put an extraheavy stress on the main verb proper, but only on the auxiliary ; when the verb is one of the forms which are not constructed with auxiliary, the auxiliary *do* is "inserted" :

(10) *John hás come.*

or

(11) *John dóes come.*

and never

(11′) * *John cómes.*

In contradistinction to English, Romanian never allows any stress on the auxiliary. Accordingly, if one wants to emphasize the verb, one has to put an extraheavy stress *on the verb* proper. In Romanian, one must say :

(10′) *Ion a venit* (translation of (10))

or

(11′ *Ion vine* (translation of (11))

and never :

(10″) *Ion a venit.* **

2. We are now going to construct a grammar accounting for the contrasting features enlisted in § **1**. under (i)—(iii) and only for these features. According, one should look throughout this paragraph neither for a full grammar of interrogation, negation and emphasis, nor for a full grammar of the auxiliary-phrase. Those features which are not really relevant for our discussion are left aside. For example, the grammar below does not account for the *modal* auxiliaries in English. I prefer to leave them aside because the categori of modal auxiliaries is not well established in Romanian. The features mentioned under (i)—(iii) do not in any case depend on the category of modals : they behave with respect to modals exactly as with other auxiliaries. The full specification of various moods and tenses expressed by means of affixes in Romanian is not to be found here ; neither is the specification of all the possible combinations of auxiliary verbs (in both languages), because feautures mentioned under (i)—(iii) do not depend on these specifications.

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* In English, the *neutral* interrogation does not allow the rising intonation.

** As a matter of fact, such kind of stressed auxiliary is allowed only when one is interested in *contrasting auxiliaries : Ion vá veni, nu á venit (deja)* "John will come, he hasn't come (already)".

2—1 Assumption. The constituent grammar is so formulated as to allow the specification of sequences such as :

(i) $GN \frown V \ldots$

(ii) $Neg \frown GN \frown V \ldots$

(iii) $Int \frown GN \frown V \ldots$

(iv) $Emph \frown GN \frown V \ldots$

Dots stand for the nonrelevant features of the constituent structure.

2-2 Constituent grammar.

(i) $V \rightarrow Aux\ Verb$

(ii) $Aux \rightarrow Flex\ A_1\ MT$

(iii) $MT \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} A_2 \\ Ma \end{Bmatrix}$

Explanation of the symbols.

V, *Aux*, *Verb* are used with their standard signification in transformational grammar ; *Flex* is intended to be developed as a *complex* symbol including features expressed by the *verbal inflexion* (number and person). Further specification is not given here, because it is not relevant for our purpose. A_1 is a symbol standing for what is supposed to be lexicalized as the auxiliary *do ; MT* is to be developed as a complex symbol containing features having to do with verbal *tense* and *mood*. Such complex symbols may be found in [2] pp. 124—25. A_2 is to be rewritten as auxiliary proper (as in [1] p. 39, for English, or in [2] pp. 125—127). *Ma* stands for the verbal *affix* expressing the *tense* and the *mood* (e.g. *-a-* for the Romanian *imperfect*, *-u-* for the Romanian simple perfect, etc.) the definite phonemic form of *Ma* is to be specified by means of morphophonemic rules which do not interest us here.

The structures specified by **3—2** have the following forms :

(12) (i) $Flex\frown A_1\frown A_2\frown Verb$

(ii) $Flex\frown A_1\frown Ma\frown Verb$

Since grammar **2—2** provides a device for expanding the symbol V from **2—1** (i)—(iv), it follows that the full constituent grammar allows the specification of structures such as :

(13) (i) $GN\frown Flex\frown A_1\frown A_2\frown Verb\frown\ldots$

(ii) $GN\frown Flex\frown A_1\frown Ma\frown Verb\frown\ldots$

(iii) $Neg\frown GN\frown Flex\frown A_1\frown A_2\frown Verb\frown\ldots$

(iv) $Neg\frown GN\frown Flex\frown A_1\frown Ma\frown Verb\frown\ldots$

(v) $Int\frown GN\frown Flex\frown A_1\frown A_2\frown Verb\frown\ldots$

(vi) $Int\frown GN\frown Flex\frown A_1\frown Ma\frown Verb\frown\ldots$

(vii) $Emph\frown GN\frown Flex\frown A_1\frown A_2\frown Verb\frown\ldots$

(viii) $Emph\frown GN\frown Flex\frown A_1\frown Ma\frown Verb\frown\ldots$

The transformational component of our grammar contains two sets of transformations : the first is concerned with the constituents *Neg*, *Int* and *Emph* ; the second is concerned with the rearrangement of the constituents of the auxiliary. Since most of the transformations belonging to the second set are common to English and to Romanian, it will be presented first.

2—3 Transformations within the Auxiliary phrase.

T 1 : $(X + Y)\ A_2 — (Z)\ \begin{matrix}A_2\\ \text{Verb}\end{matrix}$

$1 + 2 \quad — 3 \qquad ==\rangle\ 1 — 3 + 2$

T 2 : $\text{Ma} — \text{Verb}$

$1 — 2 \qquad ==\rangle\ 2 + 1$

T 3 : $A_1 — (Z) \begin{Bmatrix}\text{Verb}\\ A_2\end{Bmatrix}$

$1 — 2 \qquad ==\rangle\ 0 — 2$

Let X be either A_1 *Ma* or A_2 *Verb* + *Ma*

T 4 : $Flex — X$

$1 — 2 \quad ==\rangle\ 2 + 1$

Explanation.

1° **T 1** is the analog of Chomsky's [1] p. 39 (29) (ii). It must be understood as follows: if $(x + y)$ is a "second auxiliary", that is something like *(have + PP)*, *(be + ing)* in English or *(aş + Inf)* or *(avea + PP)* in Romanian, then the second element (viz. *PP* or *ing* or *Inf*) is to be incorporated (or attached) to the next element. This "next element", in turn, is either another auxiliary A_2) or else the (main) *Verb*. In other words, the affix contained in an auxiliary must be "detached" from it and "attached" (or incorporated) (in)to the next auxiliary (if it occurs) or else to the (main) *Verb* (if a following auxiliary does not occur).

For example, from Engl.:

(14) *He — (have + PP) — write*

(15) *He — (have + PP) (be + ing) — write*

obtains, by applying **T 1**:

(14′) *He — have — write + PP*

(15′) *He — have — (be + PP) — write + ing*

Or, from Rom.:

(16) *El — (avea + PP) — scrie*

(17) *El — avea + Inf) — (fi + PP)*

obtains:

(16′) *El — avea — scrie + PP*

(17′) *El — avea — fi + Inf — scrie + PP*

where (14′) — (17′) are the underlying forms of

(14″) *He has written*

(15″) *He has been writing*

(16″) *El a scris* (translation of (14″))

(17″) *El ar fi scris* "he would have written".

2°. **T 2** provides the incorporation of tense and mood affix, *Ma*, into the *Verb*. The effect of this rule may be clarified by means of the following example from Romanian. Let us assume that *Ma* is rewritten as a CS of the form

$$(18)\quad \begin{bmatrix} + \text{Ma} \\ + \text{Indicative} \\ - \text{Perfect} \end{bmatrix}$$

We have then

$$(19)\quad \begin{bmatrix} + \text{Ma} \\ + \text{Indicative} \\ - \text{Perfect} \end{bmatrix} - \text{crede}$$

According to **T 2**, one *gets :*

$$(19') \quad crede - \begin{bmatrix} + \text{Ma} \\ + \text{Indicative} \\ - \text{Perfect} \end{bmatrix}$$

Since (18) is to be phonologically represented by the affix *-a-*, (19′) becomes, by applying some morphophonemic rules :

$(19'')$ $crede + a$

In English, where mood and tense distinctions are fewer and *are not* expressed by affixes, there are fewer possibilities of expanding *Ma* in CS's and, further, even in those cases in which it *is* expanded into a CS, there is no affix corresponding to this CS. In other words, we need some morphophonemic rule providing the "zero-realization" of these CS's.

3°. **T 3** is applied to the effect of *deleting* A_1 when it is followed either by an A_2 (an auxiliary proper) or by a *Verb*. It was pointed out that A_1 is meant as the underlying form of the auxiliary *do*. Accordingly, this rule accounts for the following features of English :

(i) if some proper auxiliary is chosen according to **2—2** (iii), then A_1 must be deleted. For example, if, by **2—2** (i) — (iii), one obtains :

(20) $Flex^\frown A_1{}^\frown(have + PP)^\frown write$,

then (21) becomes by **T 3**

(20′) $Flex^\frown(have + PP)^\frown write$;

(ii) if by **2—2** (i) — (iii) one obtains

(21) $Flex^\frown A_1{}^\frown Ma^\frown write$,

then, by **T 2,** (21) becomes

(21′) $Flex^\frown A_1{}^\frown write + Ma$

and then, by **T 3,** (21′) becomes

(21″) $Flex^\frown write + Ma$.

If something (like *Neg, Int, Emph*) gets inserted by transformation (see below) between *Ma* and *Verb* in (21), then **T 3** does not apply. Since in Romanian neither *Neg*, nor *Int*, nor *Emph* can be inserted between *Ma and Verb, rule* **T 3** *always applies*, that is A_1 is in Romanian *always deleted*, or, to put it another way, in Romanian, A_1 never occurs in the surface structure.

4°. Rule **T 4** provides the incorporation of the element *Flex* (= inflexion) into *X* when *X* is allowed to be either $A_1{}^\frown Ma$, or A_2, or else $Verb + Ma$. In other words : if A_1 is not deleted by **T 3** and is followed by *Ma*, then *Flex* becomes by **T 4** attached to *Ma* (preceded by A_1) ; if

A_2 is already deleted by **T 3** and *Ma* is already attached to *Verb*, then *Flex* becomes by **T 4** attached to *Ma* (preceded by *Verb*) ; if A_1 is deleted and some auxiliary proper is chosen (by **2—2** (iii) then *Flex* is attached to A_2.

In order to show how **T 4** works, let us assume we have the following underlying form :

(22) *Flex*⌢*write* + *Ma*

(obtained by **T 2** and **T 3** from '*Flex*⌢A_1Q*Ma*⌢*write*'). According to **T 4**, from (22) obtains

(22′) *write* + *Ma* + *Flex*.

Let us start with

(23) *Flex*⌢A_1⌢*Ma*⌢*X*⌢*write*

(where *X* stands either for *Neg*, or for *Int* or for *Emph*). To (23), **T 2** cannot be applied, then A_1 is kept. According to **T 4**, there obtains :

(23′) A_1⌢*Ma* + *Flex*⌢*X*⌢*Verb*

assuming that *Ma* is present and 'indicative', and applying the appropriate morphophonemic rules, from (23′) we obtain :

(23″) *do*⌢*Flex*⌢*X*⌢*write*.

If we start with an underlying

(24) *Flex*⌢*have*⌢*write* + *PP*

(obtained by **T 1**, **T 3**), applying **T 4**, we obtain :

(24′) *have* + *Flex*⌢*write* + *PP*.

Since in Romanian A_2 is always deleted (see above, under 3° **T 4** applies only to underlying structures of the form

(25) *Flex*⌢*Verb*⌢*Ma*

or

(26) *Flex*⌢A_2⌢*Verb*.

For example :

(27) *Flex* — *crede* + *Ma*

(obtained by **T 2**) or

(28) *Flex*⌢*avea*⌢*Verb* + *PP*

(obtained by **T 1**).

The effect of **T 4** applied to (27), (28), is

(27′) *crede* + *Ma* + *Flex*

(28′) *avea* + *Flex*⌢*crede* + *PP*.

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It is obvious as a result of **T 1—4** that T-rules 1—4 apply both in Romanian and English. The only difference between these languages concern rule **T 3** : it applies *always in Romanian* and only *sometimes in English* ; the consequence of this fact is that A_1 does not appear at any time in Romanian within the surface structure. The other difference lies in the *lexicalization* of A_2 and the phonemic shape of the lexical items dominated by A_2. As a consequence of this we have the fact that **T 1** applies to *identical structures underlying* non-identical terminal items.

We are now in a position to move on, to the next set of T-rules, which are different in the two languages. That is why we list them separately for English and (for) Romanian :

2—4 Negation, Interrogation, Emphasis in English.

T 5 (Negation) $$Neg^\frown NP^\frown Flex^\frown A_1{}^\frown(X)\begin{Bmatrix}A_2\\ \text{Ma}\end{Bmatrix}{}^\frown(Y)\begin{Bmatrix}A_2\\ \text{Verb}\end{Bmatrix}$$

$$1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 \Longrightarrow 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 1 - 6$$

T 6 (Interrogation) $$Int^\frown NP^\frown Flex^\frown A_1{}^\frown(X)\begin{Bmatrix}A_2\\ \text{Ma}\end{Bmatrix}{}^\frown(Y)\begin{Bmatrix}A_2\\ \text{Verb}\end{Bmatrix}$$

$$1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 - 5 - 6 \Longrightarrow 1 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 2 - 6$$

T 7 (Emphasis) $$Emph^\frown NP^\frown Flex^\frown A_1{}^\frown(X)\begin{Bmatrix}\text{Ma}\\ A_2\end{Bmatrix}{}^\frown(Y)\begin{Bmatrix}A_2\\ \text{Verb}\end{Bmatrix}$$

$$1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 \Longrightarrow 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 1 - 6$$

2—5 Negation, Interrogation, Emphasis in Romanian.

T 5 (Negation) $$Neg^\frown NP^\frown Flex^\frown A_1{}^\frown(X)\begin{Bmatrix}A_2\\ \text{Ma}\end{Bmatrix}{}^\frown(Y)\begin{Bmatrix}A_2\\ \text{Verb}\end{Bmatrix}$$

$$1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 \Longrightarrow 2 - 1 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6$$

T 6 (Interrogation, optional) $$Int^\frown GN^\frown Flex^\frown A_2{}^\frown(X)\begin{Bmatrix}A_1\\ \text{Ma}\end{Bmatrix}{}^\frown Verb$$

$$1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 \Longrightarrow 1 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 2$$

T 7 (Emphasis) $$Emph^\frown NP^\frown Flex^\frown(X)\begin{Bmatrix}A_2\\ \text{Ma}\end{Bmatrix}{}^\frown Verb$$

$$1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 \Longrightarrow 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 1$$

Explanation. Both sets of T-rules (**2—4, 2—5**) are operations by means of which *Neg*, subject-*NP* and *Emph* are moved out of their place. In English, all of them are inserted either (i) between the first A_2 (= auxiliary proper) and the other(s) (when the underlying structure

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contains more than one auxiliary), or (ii) between A_2 and the *Verb* (when the underlying structure contains only one auxiliary proper), or else, between *Ma* and the *Verb* (when the underlying structure contains no A_2).

In Romanian, *Neg* is moved in front of the Auxiliary phrase (**2—5**, **T 5**, subject-*NP* and *Emph* are both moved after *Verb* (rule **2—5**, **T 6** concerning subject-*NP* is, as we have seen, optional).

Rules **2—4** are to be applied *after* **T 1** and before **T 2, 3, 4** in English.

They must be applied *after* **T 1** because otherwise the further application of **T 1** would be blocked. For example, starting with the underlying.

(29) $Neg \frown he \frown Flex \frown A_1 \frown (have + PP \frown write$

one applies first **T 5** and obtains.

(29') $he \frown Flex \frown A_1 \frown (have + PP \frown Neg - write$

To (29') **T 6** cannot be applied, because *PP* no longer stands in front of the symbol *Verb*.

Thus, one must first apply **T 1**:

(29") $Neg \frown he \frown Flex \frown A_1 \frown have \frown write + PP$

and then to (29"), **T 5**:

(29"') $he \frown Flex \frown A_1 \frown have \frown Neg \frown write + PP$

On the contrary, any of the rules **T 6**, **T 7** must be applied *before* the rule **T 2** in order to render impossible its further application.

If we have the underlying structure

(30) $Neg \frown NP \frown Flex \frown A_1 \frown Ma \frown Verb$

and we apply first **T 6**, we obtain

(30') $NP \frown Flex \frown A_1 \frown Ma \frown Neg \frown Verb$.

To (30'), **T 2** cannot be applied and, consequently, we have to apply **T 4**:

(30') $NP \frown A_2 \frown Ma \frown Flex \frown Neg \frown Verb$

where $A_2 \frown Ma \frown Flex \frown Neg$ is to be represented phonologically either by *do not*, or by *does not*, or by *did not*, depending on the value given to *NP* and to *Ma*.

If we have the underlying structure

(31) $Neg \frown NP \frown Flex \frown A_1 \frown (have - PP) \frown Verb$

by **T 1** it becomes

(31') $Neg \frown NP \frown Flex \frown A_1 \frown have \frown Verb + PP$

which becomes by **T 5**

(32") $NP \frown Flex \frown A_1 \frown have \frown Neg \frown Verb + PP$

To (32"), **T 3** must be applied, and we obtain

(32"') $NP \frown Flex \frown have \frown Neg \frown Verb + PP$

which becomes by **T 4**

(32"") $NP \frown have + Flex \frown Neg \frown Verb + PP$

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It is easy to show that **T 3** cannot be applied before **T 5**; let us start again with

(31′) $Neg'^\frown NP'^\frown Flex^\frown A_1^\frown have^\frown Verb + PP$

(31 a″) $Neg^\frown NP^\frown Flex^\frown have^\frown Verb + PP$ (by **T 3**)

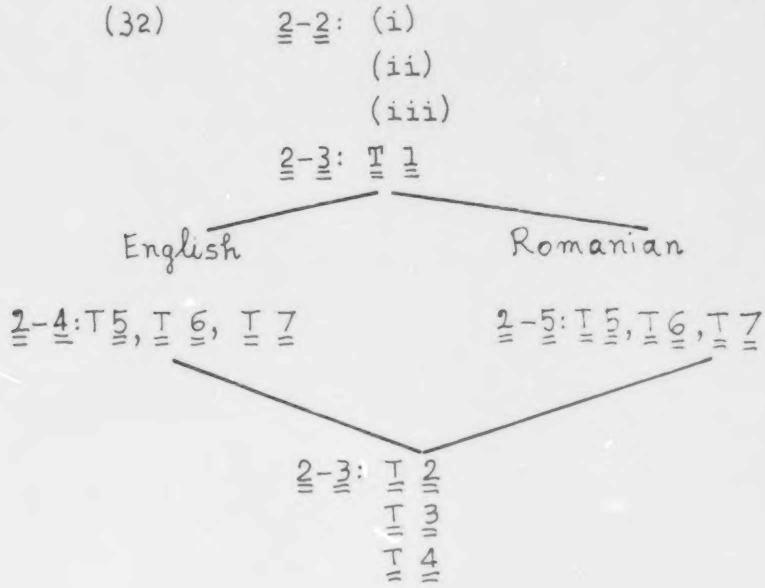
To (31a″) **T 5** cannot be applied, because it does not satisfy the condition imposed by the structural description for **T 5** to be applied.

In Romanian, any of the transformations unde **2—5** must be applied (like in English) *after* **T 1**, for the same reason.

On the other hand, the application of any transformation under **2—5** has no effect concerning the further application of **T 2, 3, 4,** because, by the application of **T 2**, **3** or **T 5** no element is inserted within the auxiliary phrase or between the auxiliary phrase and the verb proper. Transformations under **2—5** must be applied *before* the transformations under **2—3** because otherwise the structural changes introduced by the latter would make impossible any further application of any T-rule from **2—5**.

3. The results mentioned in § **2.** may be summarized by means of the following diagram, where the arrangement of the rules on the vertical axis represents the *order* in which rules must be applied. When no specification is made, rules are common to English and Romanian, Rules writen on the same line are unordered.

(32)



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The account in § **2.** as well as its synthetic presentation in the diagram above shows that the differences mentioned in § **1.** between Romanian and English can be described in terms of two very simple grammars which for the most part are identical : each grammar contains 10 rules ; from these rules, 7 rules are identical in English and Romanian and only 3 are different.

In these terms, the probability for a Romanian rule to hold in English is $\frac{7}{10} = 0{,}70$. It can be said that 0,70 is the probability of the *successful* transfer of a rule from Romanian to English. At the same time, 0,30 can be interpreted as the probability of the *unsuccessful* transfer.

Neeertheless, it seems to me difficult to say to what extent the grammars constructed in § **2.** and the way in which they have been contrasted in (32) are intuitive enough for these to be "translated" in terms of a school-grammar.

For example : which is the *intuitive base* for assuming the existence of an A_1 (= a kind of *do*) in the deep structure of Romanian (as **2—2** (ii) provides) ? And then : which is the *intuitive base* for saying that this A_2 "never occurs at the surface" in Romanian, or that this A_2 is "always deleted" in Romanian ?

If the intuitive base for such assumptions is not clear enough, then, to what extent this state of affairs has an influence on the correct acquisition of the "target grammar" ? Or, to put it in a more exact way : to what extent under such conditions, one is allowed to consider that 0,70 and 0,30 correspond to something actually existing in the process of acquisition of English grammar ?

As a matter of fact, the languages we are concerned with may be contrasted in terms of two almost disjunct grammars.

This could be done by considering that Romanian has instead of **2—2** (ii), iii) something like :

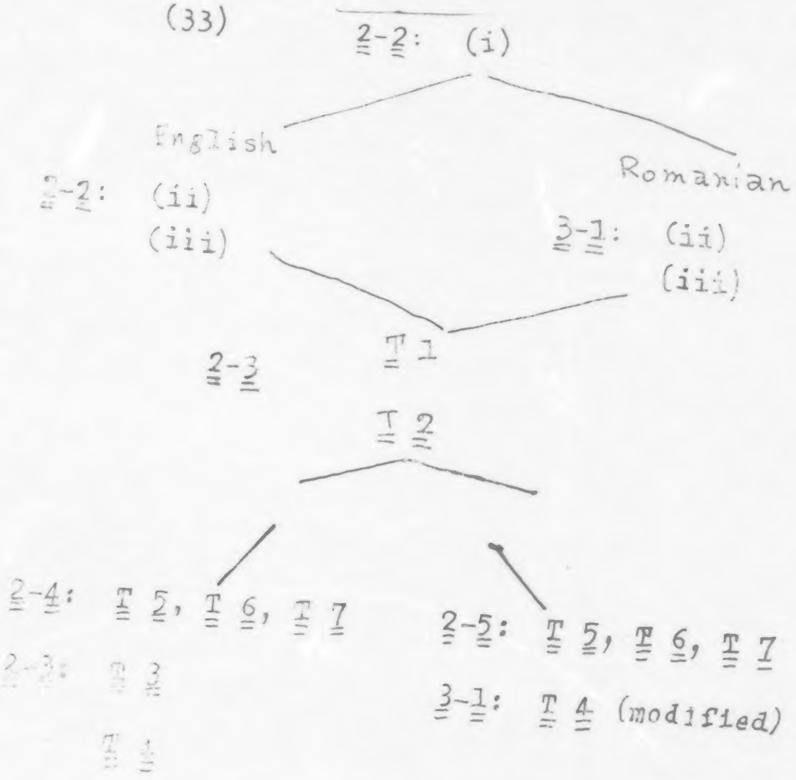
3—1 (ii) $Aux \longrightarrow Flex\ MT$

(iii) $MT \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} A \\ Ma \end{Bmatrix}$

Under such conditions, it is obvious that only **T 1, T 2** will stay identical for English and Romanian : **T 3 will** be no longer a Romanian rule, whereas **T 4** will be applied in different conditions in Romanian, that is, will become a *different rule* in Romanian with respect to English. More generally speaking, with the modification provided by **3—1**, Romanian and English V-phrases have *different deep structures* and, consequently, transformations *ought* to be different in the two languages. The presence of **T 1** in both languages is due to the *partial similarity* of the two different deep structures.

Taking into account the modifications proposed above, the diagram (32) must take the following form :

(33)



From (33), one sees that the fragment of Romanian grammar we are dealing with contains 9 rules, from which only 3 are held in common with the corresponding fragment of English grammar. Thus, the probability for a Romanian rule to hold in English, i.e. the probability of a successful transfer is $\frac{3}{9} = 0{,}33$; on the other hand, the probability of an unsuccessful transfer is, naturally 0.67. Sinche the intuitive base of the modified contrasted grammars is obviously clear, this is reason enough to consider that in this case 0,33 and 0,67 actually correspond to something real.

4. It seems to me that some conclusion are evident :

1°. Grammars may be contrasted in many ways.

2°. The notion of "positive" or "negative" transfer are not absolute concepts, but *dependent* on how grammars are contrasted.

3°. The way in which grammars are contrasted may have a more intuitive or a less intuitive base.

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4°. Since contrastive analysis and thereby contrastive grammar is usually thought of in connexion with language teaching and/or language learning, it seems that *intuitiveness* can be taken as a criterion for choosing among different ways of contrasting grammars.

5°. The probability, P, of positive or negative transfer (depending on the way in which grammars are contrasted, see above, under 2°) allows for some clear factual interpretation only to the extent that the intuitive base of contrasting grammars is sufficiently clear.

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"PERCEPTUAL CONSTRAINTS" AND PRENOMINAL MODIFICATION IN ENGLISH AND GERMAN

HANS ULRICH BOAS

Recent psycholinguistic research strongly suggests that the mechanisms of language perception and learning influence adult linguistic intuitions about potential sentences, i.e. the data on which Chomskyan grammars are based (cf., e.g. Bever (1970)). This has led to doubts about the competence-performance distinction and other basic assumptions of generative transformational grammar.

Thus, Grosu (1972) questions the value of Ross' formal universal constraints on transformation (cf. Ross (1967) as explanations for syntactic data and remarks "while we may doubt the existence of transformations, there are no reasons for doubting the existence of concepts, or of perception and production mechanisms" (pp. 1—2). After having excluded semantic facts as explanations for the syntactic phenomena in question he proposes that "sentences in which Ross' constraints have been violated conflict with certain properties and or limitations of the perceptual apparatus" (1972, p. 2).

These violations he then traces back to the perceptual principles of erroneous closure, interrupted behavior and perceptual conflict (cf. 1972, p. 2 and p. 54 ff.).

In another place Grosu (cf. Grosu (1971)) comments on Bever's hypothesis that behavioral constraints reflect limitations of the perceptual apparatus and must therefore be postulated to be universal. He rightly observes that it does not follow from this assumption that behavioral constraints must be manifested as purely perceptual in all languages. What he gives as evidence shows, however, the questionable explanatory value of his approach. The decreasing intelligibility of increasingly complex prenominal modifiers is, in his opinion, a universal phenomenon which in the case of English and German can be called upon to explain the large differences in complexity of such constituents between these languages. From the fact that the literal English rendering in (1b) of the German sentence in (1a) is extremely hard to interpret in addition to being ungrammatical he concludes that German, unlike English,

(1) a) Die während der Nacht mit dem aus Frankreich kommenden Zug eingetroffenen Touristen fanden keine Unterkunft.
b)*The during the night with the from France coming train arrived tourists did not find any lodgings.
(**Grosu**, 1971, p. 417)

"has not grammatized the constraint" (ibid.). Accepting this argument would mean facing the same kind of unsatisfactory situation as Grosu did with respect to Ross' constraints, only on another level. Just as the mere statement of syntactic constraints cannot be regarded as an explanation of the facts the postulation of instances of grammatization versus nongrammatization of perceptual constraints does not suffice to explain the differences in possible structural complexity of prenominal modifiers between English and German.

If one takes a closer look at Grosu's examples (1a) and (1b), their variants (2a) and (2b) and at those immediately preceding stages of derivation that may also occur on the surface (cf. (3a) and (3b) another way of arguing suggests itself.

(2) a) Die mit dem aus Frankreich kommenden Zug während der Nacht eingetroffenen Touristen ...

b) *The with from France coming train during the night

(3) a) Die Touristen, mit dem aus Frankreich kommenden Zug während der Nacht *eingetroffen*, ...

Die Touristen, mit dem aus Frankreich kommenden Zug eingetroffen während der Nacht, ...

Die Touristen, während der Nacht eingetroffen mit dem aus Frankreich kommenden Zug, ...

Die Touristen, während der Nach mit dem aus Frankreich kommenden Zug *eingetroffen*, ...

Die Touristen, engetroffen während der Nacht mit dem aus Frankeich kommenden Zug, ...

Die Touristen, eingetroffen mit dem aus Frankreich kommenden Zug während der Nacht, ...

b) The tourists, (having) arrived during the night with the train which comes from France, ...

The tourists, (having) arrived with the train, which comes from France, during the night, ...

? The tourists, during the night (having) arrived with the train ,which comes from France, ...

? The tourists, with the train, which comes from France, (having) arrived during the night, ...

*The tourists, with the train, which comes from France, during the night (having) arrived, ...

*The tourists, during the night with the train, which comes from France, (having) arrived, ...

Notice first that the six reduced German relatives in (3) have six corresponding unreduced versions of the type as in (4) and

(4) Die Touristen, die mit dem aus Frankreich kommenden Zug währen der Nacht eingetroffen waren, ...

(5) Die Touristen waren mit dem aus Frankreich kommenden Zug während der Nacht eingetroffen.

And that the German main clause type underlying (4), namely (5), can appear in about thirty linearly different versions (cf. Boas, 1975, pp. 110—114) only four of them having equivalents in English. Since this discrepancy in the number of possible linear arrangements of constituents in English and German is clearly due to the marking of grammatical functions through case morphemes in German as against word order in English we may well ask wheter the grammaticality of (1a) and the ungrammaticality of (1b) might not be better explained by tracing this difference back to a linguistic property, namely morphological markedness, than by attributing it to the grammatization of a perceptual constraint. And in fact other data prove the priority of the structural properties of languages over perceptual constraints in the sense that a particular perceptual strategy, applicable to one language, may not be valid in another.

Take as examples Bever's perceptual strategies B, D and E''.

Strategy B : The first N... V... (N)... clause (isolated by Strategy A) is the main clause, unless the verb is marked as subordinate.

(Bever, 1970, p. 294)

Strategy D : Any *Noun-Verb-Noun* (NVN) sequence within a potential internal unit in the surface structure corresponds to *„actor-action-object"*.

(p. 298)

Strategy E'' : After "determiner..." the boundary of the head noun phrase is marked by (1) a set of morpheme classes that signal the end of a noun phrase (such as "s") of immediately subsequent morphemes that signify the beginning of a new noun phrase (such as "the", proper nouns) or a relative clause (such as "that" and (2) a subsequent lexical item that is less uniquely a noun.

(p. 323)

A combination of which predicts the ungrammaticality of (1b) above and of (6b) where e.g. the portion *his father inherited aggressiveness*

(6) a) Ein wagen der von seinem Vater ererbten Aggressivität oft seine Kollegen beleidigender Mann...

b)*A because of the from his father inherited aggressiveness often his colleagues insulting man...

could be interpreted as S—V—O, thus adding another cause for perceptual conflict. This is impossible in the German equivalent *seinem Vater ererbten Aggressivität* in which the first NP is unambiguously marked as dative.

An inspection of similar and even more complex German prenominal modifiers demonstrates that the same, morphologically and or prepositionally marked types and numbers of verbal and adjectival complements as in full main clauses may appear prenominally in different linear orders together with embedded structures and even sentence adverbials. The only conditions are that the head must have been the subject in the underlying relative clause and that the adjective or participalized verb occupy the position immediately to the left of the head.

In English these two conditions hold as well. But there are additional requirements which must be fulfilled in order that remnants of relative clauses may be proposed. According to König (1971, pp. 31—36) complex modifiers like adjectives or participles with adjuncts cannot appear in English in prenominal position unless they are able to undergo a compounding transformation which carries out operations, typical of word forming processes such as deletion of prepositions and number features.

The prenominal occurrence of these compounded modifiers thus make up, at least in part, for the impossibility of preposing most complex syntactic modifiers. Compare some examples under (7).

(7) A man (who is) experienced in these things . . . ==⟩

* An in these things experienced man. . .

People who are trained in science ==⟩
science-trained people

A man who runs fast ==⟩ a fast-running man

A university which is run by the state ==⟩
a state-run university

In structures like (8b) it is obviously only the compound stress pattern that prevents the sequence from being interpreted as S—V—O

(8) a)

$$\text{Seine} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{handgepflückten} \\ \text{mit der Hand gepflückten} \\ \text{von ihm mit der Hand gepflückten} \end{array} \right\} \text{Orangen}$$

b)

$$\text{His} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{hand-picked} \\ {}^{*}\text{by hand picked} \\ {}^{*}\text{by him by hand picked} \end{array} \right\} \text{oranges}$$

whereas in German this is excluded by the inflectional and/or prepositional marking of the first noun in the case of the syntactic modifier and by the case and number agreement of the participle or adjective with the head noun in the case of the compounded modifier. This way of explaining the differences in the permissibility of preposing certain modifiers in English and German, however, is not parallel to König's. He attributes these differences to the difference in word order that obtains in the relative clauses of the two languages. Since in English the word order in subordinate clauses is identical to that in main clauses, and since in both languages the prenominal modifiers must end in the adjective or participle, he tries to explain the differences in question by postulating for both languages preposing transformations that admit as inputs only classes of strings in which the adjective or participle occurs in final position.

This approach overlooks the following points: prenominal modifiers cannot be derived directly from full relative clauses in which the verbal element always stands in final position.

They have to be derived by way of Relative Clause Reduction, being synonymous with the non-restrictive, i.e. appositive, interpretation of reduced relatives where, if possible, participalization has taken place. But in such structures the position of the verbal or adjectival elements is free in German and it would be *ad hoc* to consider only those strings as paraphrastically related that exhibit the same linear order (cf. (3)).

For English the restriction of the adjective or participle to final position in the structural analysis of the modifier compounding transformations does not hold for such sentences as in (9) which, in spite of the linear order of their constituents, all have corresponding compounds

(9) The man looks important ==⟩ the important-looking man

The child is sleeping soundly ==⟩
the soundly-sleeping child

The family is prone to accidents ==⟩
the accident-prone family

(cf. König, 1971, p. 46).

In addition there are combinations like (10) which contradict

(10) This work (that is) excellent in so many ways ==⟩
this in so many ways excellent work

König's above-mentioned generalization that adjectives with adjuncts occur only as compounds prenominally. The use of all types of extend modifiers is even reported to have spread during the last years especially in American English (cf. Crean (1973)).

To see why König (1971) relies so heavily on linear order in his contrastive analyses of English and German one needs only to recall that linearity is an important property of the formal apparatus he is working with, namely a Chomskyan type of generative transformational grammar. Phrase-structure and transformational rule assign a hierarchically and linearly defined position to syntactic symbols such that it is for example impossible to define deep structure grammatical relations hierarchically without at the same time committing oneself to a certain linear order. It is equally impossible to represent that complex prenominal modifiers are related in the same way to all possible versions of underlying reduced relatives, full relatives and main clauses, irrespective of their linear arrangements. Because of this linearity principle and the methodological separation of linguistic descriptions into levels or components, the function of morphological markers in inflecting languages as indicators of grammatical relations and dependencies cannot be captured directly in a Chomskyan grammar.

What divergent claims as to the linear order of deep structure elements and what inconsistent and counter-intuitive analyses have resulted from the treatment of inflecting languages in terms of generative transformational grammar has been demonstrated in Boas (1975). In this study I also outlined a universal grammatical model comprising a set of universal phrase-structure rules which generate hierarchically stratified but linearly unordered sets of syntactic constituents followed by language-specific rules which either introduce abstract morphological case-markers or prepositions or strings of formatives. In the case of fixed word order languages the familiar types of transformations apply to such strings, in the case of free word order languages deletion and addition operations yield terminal unordered sets of constituents the possible linear arrangements of which are enumerated by linearization rules.

That this model avoids the shortcomings of the generative transformational as well as Grosu's perceptual constraints approach and allows for explanatory adequate contrastive statements can be seen by comparing how certain other differences between English and German are explained in terms of linear order as against morphological markedness.

In his contribution to the Zagreb Conference König (1971 a) points out that many differences between English and German can only be observed if the fully explicit model of transformational grammar is adopted as a theoretical frame-work for one's statements and gives the following as an example :

> Relative Clause Formation is a 'variable rule'
> in English while being a 'constant rule' in German.
>
> (**König**, 1971, a, p. 131)

Leaving technicalities aside this statement means that in English the rule of Relative Clause Formation can move a noun phrase up from far down the tree as it has happened, for example, in (11) where, in transformational terminology, the relativized

(11) This book would be worthy of attention, irrespective of its merits, which it is pleasant to be able to report are considerable.

(**König**, 1971, a, p. 132)

NP *merits* has crossed two clause boundaries while being moved out of the clause *the merits are considerable* and the higher clause *it is pleasant to be able to report S*. In German, however, the NP to be moved may only cross one clause boundary as is shown, in König's opinion, by the fact that (11) has no literal translation into German. This may suffice as a description of the syntactic behavior of the noun phrases in question as reflected in a transformational grammar, but it cannot count as an explanation. Observe first that (11) can be translated non-literally into German as in (12) which, in turn, possesses a literal English counterpart, namely (13).

(12) Dieses Buch wäre beachtenswert ohne Rücksicht auf seine Verdienste, *über* die es erfreulich ist, berichten zu können, *daß sie* beträchtlich sind.

(13) This book would be worthy of attention, irrespective of its merits, *about* which it is pleasant to be able to report *that they* are considerable.

The synonymous versions (11) and (13) differ from each other in the amount of morphological information that is present on the surface. It is exactly this amount of morphological markedness that is required in the sentential structures of German which prevents (11) from having a literal German equivalent. To put it differently, inflecting languages like German demand that all noun phrases which function as complements of finite verbs be present in the respective sentential structure so that they or their remnants can serve as carriers of case morphemes or heads of prepositional phrases.

English, on the other hand, having lost most of its morphological case marking and indicating certain grammatical functions solely by linear order, can delete such elements as pronouns and complementizers on the surface as long as the relations in question, i. e. grammatical functions and constituency in main or subordinate clause, remain discernible. These are also the reasons why Ross (1967) could interpret transformations like Relative Clause Formation or Wh-Fronting in English as chopping transformations which move constituents across clause boundaries out of the structures where they originated, without leaving a pronominal trace behind. Consider, for example, (14) and (15).

(14) a) Ich las, daß die Polizei diesen Mann verhören würde.

b) I read that the police were going to interrogate that man.

(cf. **Ross**, 1967, p. 66)

(15) a) Der Mann, von dem ich las, daß die Polizei *ihn* verhören würde . . .

b) The man who I read that the police were going to interrogate

(ibid.)

In German the principle of the morphological autonomy of sentences makes the notion 'chopping transformation' vacuous because it prescribes that, as in (15 a) or (12), pronouns must occur to indicate the grammatical function the relativized noun phrase has in the subordinate clauses.

Such an indication is sometimes necessary even in English to avoid confusion. Thus, Bever and Langendoen (1972) noted that sentences containing verbs such as *mention* and *say* — they call them class 'M' verbs — occur with indirect objects obligatorily introduced by the preposition *to* and with *that*-clause object complements as in (16). If in such sentences the indirect object

(16) I {(a) mentioned / (b) said} to Marsha (that) Frieda was crazy about Harvey.

(**Bever** and **Langendoen**, 1972, p. 75)

is questioned the preposition may be fronted with the question-word as in (17) or the preposition may be left behind, or stranded. In the latter case an expletive *it* must be inserted

(17) To whom did you {(b) say / (a) mention} (that) Frieda was crazy about Harvey ?

(18) a) Who(m) did you {(i) mention / (ii) say} it to (that) Frieda was crazy about Harvey ?

b) *Who(m) did you {(i) mention / (ii) say} to (that) Frieda was crazy about Harvey ?

(cf. **Bever & Langendoen**, 1972, pp. 75—6)

as a dummy direct object as in (18 a). Bever and Langendoen's comment affirms the importance of morphological marking for perceptual strategies to work upon :

> From a purely syntactic point of view, the obligatory insertion of the dummy direct object *it* following words of the class M when and only when the indirect-object preposition *to* has been stranded is certainly a curious and inexplicable state of affairs.
>
> There is, however, a straightforward explanation on the basis of the perceptual parsing principle. Whenever a preposition is stranded, there is a danger that if a noun phrase immediately follows it in the surface string, that noun phrase will mistakenly be taken to be the object of the preposition.
>
> **(p. 76)**

As a final piece of evidence in favour of a grammatical model that tries to account for the syntactic role of morphological marking let us examine what transformational grammarians have to say about the possibility of stranding prepositions in English as against the impossibility of such a process in German. König (1972, p. 58) simply states that, if relativized or questioned, the prepositional phrase must always be shifted as a whole in German, whereas it may or may not be split up in English. Ross (1967) establishes two conditions which are repeated under (19), the first one holding in German, the second in

(19) No NP may be moved out the environment [P——]

(p. 118)

No NP may be moved to the right out of the environment [P——]

(p. 125)

English and German. But he offers no reasons why this should be so. On the basis of the differences in morphological markedness in English and German the following explanation can be given. English is a language in which the basic grammatical relations in main as well as in subordinate clauses may be expressed by linear order alone, as in (20), or by a combination of linear order and prepositional marking as in (21) and (22). Thus,

(20) NP (Subj.) — V—NP (indir. Obj.)—NP (dir Obj.)
(21) NP (Subj.) — V—NP (dir. Obj.)—Prep+NP (indir. Obj.)
(22) NP (Subj.) — V—Prep+NP (indir. Obj.)—Prep+NP (dir. Obj.)

whereas all object NPs may be marked by a preposition depending on their order relative to one another and/or on the idiosyncratic properties of the verb, the subject NP is never marked by a preposition. It is always the prepositionally unmarked NP to the left of the verb. Consequently it makes generally no difference whether an object NP takes along its preposition, in case it is preceded by one, when being moved to the left. Marked by a preposition or not, such an NP to the left of a subject will always be interpreted as an object provided, of course, that it is dominated by the same S-node. The situation is different when the direction of the reordering is to the right. Then the preposition has to be taken along or even introduced as in the case of indirect and direct objects exchanging position (cf. (20) and (21)) to ensure the discernibility of grammatical relations.

In conclusion I would like to emphasize that the aim of this paper has been to show in how far linguistic reasons should have priority over behavioral ones in the explanation of syntactic properties and processes of different languages and to draw attention to some explanatory inadequacies inherent to generative transformational grammar which are particularly relevant for contrastive investigations.

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ON "BROADER" OR "FACTUAL" CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

DAMIR KALOGJERA

1.0. The discussion about whether the procedure of contrastive studies ought to be entirely theoretical, as suggested by e.g. Stockwell in 1968 (Stockwell 1968), or whether it should be executed for a pedagogically oriented audience, as its founders probably wanted it to be, is far from being over and it actually seems to flare up every time a new contrastive project, of which there is abundance today, is launched.

1.1. The proponents of a purely theoretical approach are, generally speaking, of two sorts. One group envisages contrastive analysis as a part of theoretical linguistics, usually of the generative kind, and here Stockwell could be mentioned again as an early proponent. The second group emphasises the fact that both linguistic and extra-linguistic reasons participate in positive and negative transfer and consequently contrastive analysis, ought to include other disciplines besides purely linguistic analysis. The latter view was spelled out, among others by Slama-Cazacu (Slama-Cazacu 1971).

The former, theoretically-oriented group of linguists suggested that owing to the state of semantic and syntactic theory, which precludes writing an ideal contrastive grammar, "the least one could ask for is the display of a wide range of deep structures and exemplification... of the major syntactic rules that convert these to the appropriate surface structures in the two languages' (Stockwell 1968, p. 23). Thus the task of CA would be to show that the deep structures of at least those familiar languages most frequently learned at school "share an enormous amount of similarity, and the differences in surface structure result from the existence of different transformational rules" (Stokwell 1968, p. 22). The contribution of the proponents of this trend would apparently stop there because that is going as far as linguistics has been formalised.

The latter group of scholars, those interested in linguistic and extra-linguistic aspects of acquiring another language and in accompanying interference, and here belong psychologists and psycholinguists, are as yet not quite ready to tell us what exactly in the theory of interference could be applied to contrastive linguistics, partly because, we are told, little experimentation has dealt so far with the kind of learning encountered in foreign language learning. (Carrol 1968, pp. 120—121). We may, however, expect important results due to the impetus given to that kind of research by then attention contrastive analysis has recently received.

1.2. Both these theoretical trends are carrying on their research actively, the linguists experimenting in the application of the transformational approach to contrastive problems, and psycholinguists experimenting and speculating especially around the nativist theory in connection with language acquisition taking their stance towards it by accepting it, refusing it or modifying it. Briefly, interest in contrastive analysis has opened up new paths for lively research. This fact should be taken as a compliment to the applied structural linguists of more than a quarter century ago whose ideas on CA have survived the sharp change of scholarly climate in linguistics and in a modified form have acquired the status of a recognised academic discipline. But it should not go unnoticed that both these theoretical approaches imply only a tentative and indirect link between their brand of CA and its application in presenting a target language to the learner.

2.0. In the wake of the theoretical discussions that have been going on lately, a somewhat less noticeable trend in CA has been alive and well and rather copiously represented on the pages of Contrastive Projects publications and of some teaching journals. This paper is an attempt at tracing some characteristics of this approach and at highlighting some problems that it seems to have been facing.

The trend in question has been somewhat ironically styled "listing with insight" (Stockwell 1968, p. 22) in order to underscore its theoretical insecurity. What actually characterises this approach is selecting one or a group of traditionally established grammatical facts and comparing them with the corresponding facts in the other language, if some kind of equivalent can be found there, noting differences and similarities, envisaging problems in learning and teaching, and suggesting remedies for difficulties arising out of "clashes" of structures.

This trend is close to that "broader" view of CA as "study of language by comparison with another for the purpose of finding whatever possible 'short cuts' and 'hints' can be found in the learning of one language by the speakers of the other". (Ridjanović 1968, p. 93). It seems that the more successul part of this approach's output, when English is involved as one of the languages compared, may be linked to the tradition of European descriptive and high level teaching grammars of English both in the establishment of the items for comparison and in the metalanguage adopted.

One has in mind here names like Jespersen, Kruisinga, Zandvoort, Quirk and some lesser known ones scattered throughout language periodicals. Linguistic theory, never central in these works, is, however, reflected in their interpretation of certain grammatical problems treated. "The work of such men rests confidently if not exactly securely, on the accumulated wisdom of linguistic scholarship stretching back over centuries, on the whole retaining what has been found permanent and true, skimming off what has been suspected to be fashionable and false."

(Quirk 1972, p. 109). A particularly noticeable link that exists between this tradition and the approach in CA under consideration is the fact that most of these grammarians have regularly taken note of the special features of English structure which characteristically belong to the English language and tend to be considerably diferent in, as some of the authors used to put it, "other languages", having in mind familiar European languages. These remarks might be taken as the first steps towards the trend in CA that I am trying to outline. Such an approach to CA is rather distant from the formalism found in linguistics nowadays and therefore neglected by linguists, although when enriched with selected insights due to modern linguistics it may still be profitably tapped. John Lotz wrote "when we speak about contrastive analysis we compare aspects of language which are not necessarily structurally analysed and understood"... ""In my opinion" said Lotz, "it makes perfect sense to compare the stop systems and the tense systems of, let's say, Hungarian and English without claiming that we are sure of the deepest structure of both languages." (Lotz 1968, p. 10).

2.1. The border line between predictive contrastive analysis and error analysis which is kept rather strictly in theory appears blurred in the approach in question and it is somentimes difficult to see whether the interference points treated have been established beforheand by the process of contrasting corresponding items in the pair of languages or whether learning and teaching experience has led the researcher to tackle such points.

This, however, is not the case of the reverse procedure i.e. error analysis to contrastive analysis, the kind of procedure advocated by Catford (Catford 1968, p. 159) who thinks that "contrastive analysis or descriptive comparison in language teaching is explanatory rather than predictive" because the direction of analysis varies from one topic to the other. The establishment of an item worth contrasting in a pair of languages sometimes comes from researcher's experience and somentimes it crops up as a result of a close comparison of the structures of two languages.

Frequent constrastive clashes in case of e.g. English modal verbs will be easily noted by even a brief exposure to the learner's speech or writing. Non-English sentences like *Mary must go yesterday* where *must* is used with a past reference in a simple statement, or one like ? *I am so pleased you mustn't leave tomorrow* when actually "lack of obligation" is meant and *needn't* or *don't have to* would be appropriate, will be soon registered. Less frequent and subtler interference points e.g. negating the epistemological *must* in a sentence like *He must be there* (=It is likely that he is there as *He mustn't be there* the way one would normally proceed with the equivalent of *must* (morati) in Serbo-Croat and a number of other familiar languages (instead of supplying another modal as *can't* or *may not* in English) requires a close scrutiny of corresponding items in the two languages in order for the distinction to be noted and predicted.

2.2. It should also be mentioned that it is surface structure phenomena which are treated mostly by researchers following this approach. However, the concepts of surface structure and deep structure are occasionally introduced or implied.

2.3. The theoretical interdisciplinary approach to contrastive problems as advocated by Slama-Cazacu (Slama-Cazacu 1971) has revealed the complexity of the process of mastering an L2. It made clear that contrastive analysis, as we have known it, cannot possibly cope with all those problems, least of all with the learner's psychological problems. In spite of this, it can hardly be said that the approach comparing the observable equivalent items in two languages has by this been disqualified. One hardly needs deep psychological insight, after having compared the equivalent construction in Serbo-Croat, to predict that incorrect paterns like *I want that he comes* will be produced by the Serbo-Croat speaker. And this type of approach, systematically executed, still has a lot to contribute to both practical aims and further theoretical constructs. It also has the advantage of being readable and accessible to the classroom teacher. It bridges the gap between linguistic comparison and pedagogical instruction by foreseeing the result of the clash and offering advice on how to takle it.

3.0. Along the lines of the practical approach, briefly outlined above, a considerable amount of material has lately been produced involving English as a target language and German, Serbo-Croat, Romanian, Polish, Swedish etc. as source languages. Most of the articles and studies purport to follow the predictive approach — except the Swedish project. But, as it was pointed out earlier, one has to allow for their author's experience with English as a foreign language and therefore they may not display a theoretically pure predictive procedure. The problems, as presented in these works, beg once more the question of how to delimit the contrastive (potential or committed) error from error originates in interference phenomena or not has been discussed types of recurrent explanation for potential or committed errors.

The question of how to reach the decision as to whether a certain error originates in interference phenomena or not has been discussed by Lado (Lado 1957), Di Pietro (Di Pietro 1968), James (James 1972), Richards (1971) and others all of whom suggest theoretical solutions which clarify considerably the nature of the problem but not enough to be helpful to one who deals with actual examples.

3.1. A few illustrations of the problem may be appropriate here. They are based on the material from several of the contrastive projects now under way.

1. The modal *must* is used incorrectly by both Serbo-Croat and Swedish speakers with reference to the past, e.g. *I must go yesterday*, and the error has been given a contrastive explanation.

2. Negated *must* is erroneoulsy interpreted as "lack of obligation" by learners with Serbo-Croat, Polish or German as a mother tongue.

3. *Would infinitive*, instead of the correct preterite in temporal clauses has been predicted or registered as a contrastive error in Serbo-Croat and Swedish materials.

However, these and many other similar points were regularly discussed and given special attention in various monolingual teaching grammars of English, before the advent of the present interest in contrastive analysis, sometimes under the title of "common errors" or "peculiarities of English" That would, of course, suggest their place among the so called "developmental" or "intralingual" errors common to learners of English regardless of their language backrounds. They appear to be the result of deviation from the logically expected symmetrical design in grammar according to which learners presumably generalise. On the other hand, if the said deviation from the expected design is not paralleled by a similar irregularity in the mother tongue and the design remains regular, we may rightly predict a contrastive clash and interpret it as such if attested.

The following question is thus obvious : what is at work here, the unexpected deviation in English causing trouble to any learner, or the contrastive conflict due to differences in the structures ? In answering it one has to agree with C. James (James 1972, p. 49) to the effect that the decision as to the source of the clash will be arbitrary. His suggested remedy would be to set up a theory of interference potential of clash would be made with reference to such a theory. This, of which would be a priory predictive and the decisions as to the source course, means further development of the so called "strong" hypothesis concerning CA (Wardaugh 1970) and it is certainly worth considering.

3.2. It seems to me, however, that the arbitrariness in the decisions could be considerably curbed for the purposes of this "weaker" or "broader" approach by a close study of the data turned out by the contributions for the current projects. These projects include typologically reasonably distant languages as Swedish, Hungarian and Serbo-Croat. Some of the predictions or observed errors which crop up in connection with all or the majority of them would point to an intralingual problem, and those specific to each would indicate the existence of the genuine contrastive conflict. This is of course a crude suggestion which requires considerable elaboration.

4.0. I would like to mention another point connected with this "broader" approach. This concerns the nature of explanation in both prediction and error analysis. To make the point clearer I shall go back to the few examples I quoted earlier as contrastive problems and look at their treatment from the point of view of selected language backgrounds.

4.1. The suppletive *had to* for (obligational) *must* when the reference is to the past tends to be overlooked by Swedish and Serbo-Croatian speaking learners. The error is contrastively explained in the Swedish contrastive material as due to the fact that Swedish *måste*, the equivalent of English *must*, may be used with either a reference to the present or to the past, and this misleads the Swedish learner (Stenström 1975, p. 18). The same error committed by the native speaker of Serbo-Croat we have attributed to the fact that the verb *morati*, the Serbo-Croat equivalent of *must*, has a full morphology and syntax, including the regular form for the past tense and that this could possibly bring about negative transfer, as there is no signal in the learner's mother tongue to lead him to supply the suppletive form *had to*.

Let's take another pair of explanations : the negation of the modal *must*. In the case of German learners the clash resulting in the wrong interpretation of the meaning of *must not* as "lack of obligation" is normally attributed to the resemblance between the forms of *mussen* and *must* which then causes the conflict, as in German *mussen* is immediately negated i.e. it falls within the focus of the negation *nicht* which does not occur in English. The explanation of the same conflict with reference to the Serbo-Croat structure is much more involved as the identification of *must not* and *ne mora* does not occur because of surface resemblance but because of what one considers translation equivalence.

"Translation equivalence" explanations are numerous in English — Serbo-Croat contrastive work. As another illustrative example one could take the erroneous of *would plus infinitive* instead of the required preterite in the conditional clauses. This conflict finds its realisation with German, apparently with Swedish learners, and it is quite a problem with learners whose mother tongue is Serbo-Croat. Now the suggested reason for the sentence ? *I would make a mistake if I would accept it*, when a neutral condition is meant and in which the native speaker of English would have employed the preterite, runs as follows. *Would plus infinitive* is most frequently translated into Serbo-Croat by the present conditional. Now the Serbo-Croat present conditional is used in the type of conditional clauses where English employs the preterite and this misleads the learner who then uses the incorrect *would plus infinitive* in this structure in English.

4.2. The above examples show that there are two typical ways of predicting or explaining in contrastive analysis with a practical slant, and that they are considerably different. One is based on overt resemblances of items and is rather obvious. It is characteristic for contrastive analysis of genetically close languages. The second is incomparably more involved, requiring complicated constructs, which beg further elaboration as at present an element of arbitrariness is clearly there. Here, as with the question of what the contrastive clash is, one should consider all abstract solutions possible. But since "broader" contrastive analysis requires interim solutions as well, the procedure of researchers working in a similar vein with different languages might be profitably compared and, hopefully, improved.

5.0. The "broader" or "factual" approach may sound too narrow and utilitarian at the present stage of the development of CA. Dwight Bolinger wrote (Di Petro 1968) : "If comparing two languages had no purpose except to make it easier for speakers of one to learn the other, a catalog of teaching devices would probably suffice." The development of CA indicates that the purpose of such comparisons has become much more ambitious, but scholarly and thoughtfully produced "catalogs" incorporating new insight gained by "pure" CA schould never be underestimated.

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CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS AND VALENCE THEORY

MATTHIAS PERL

0. The last few years saw a rapid development of a new grammatical theory. This theory, which in the beginning was mainly worked out by the French linguist *L. Tesnière*, is today the basis for new trends in linguistic semantics in several countries.

In the German Democratic Republic exist various centres of linguistic research where valence theory is used in lexicography, science of translation and linguistic semantics. *G. Helbig* showed in his works how to use the theory for the teaching of German to foreign students and in lexicography. At the Sektion Theoretische und angewandte Sprachwissenschaft of the Karl-Marx-University at Leipzig valence theory is used for contrastive analysis projects of various languages. The Department of Romance languages makes use of the theory for two contrastive analysis projects of verbs (German-French anu German-Spanish). There are other groups working with Russian and English. There are more groups or individuals working in Güstrow (G.D.R.), Moscow (various languages), Kiev (various languages), Riga (various languages), Oulu (Finland, German-Finnish), Paris (German-French), Uppsala (German-Swedish), Timișoara (German-Romanian) and in Auckland (New Zealand, German-English). Centres of Case Grammar and linguistic semantics like Berkeley and Trujillo (Peru) also showed interest in this method.

On the following pages we will try to explain our method with an English example.

1. We start our investigations with the assumption that the semes (semantic markers) of a semene can be divided into 'core semes' (noyau sémique) and 'context semes' (Sèmes contextuels).

The core semes of a semene are similar or identical with speakers who have the same or nearly the same social and cultural background. This can be shown by investigations of core seme structures of verbs by linguists who investigated different languages but found the same or nearly the same core structure of semes for verbs.

M. Bierwisch describes the English 'to sell':

(1) [T] ([Poss]XY)ti [T] ([Poss]ZY)ti + k [T] ([Poss]ZW)ti
[T] ([Poss]XW)ti + k ([Sun of money]W)

D. Parisi describes the Italian 'vendere':

(2) 'vendere' A vende B A causa che A cambi in A non a B e che un C cambi in C ha B, B i di C e il denaro e presente nell'interazione

G. Wotjak describes the German 'verkaufen':

(3) verkaufen ti(HAVE(A, X) Poss(Y, D)) ti+k(Poss(A, D) Poss Y, D)) where 'D' stands for a sum of money.

As a result of these investigations we assume a similar or even identical core structure of the investigated verbs. Translation problems from one language to another do not arise here.

The grouping of context semes creates the difficulties in translation.

2. To get the context semes of a verb we examine the syntactic and semantic surroundings of the verb in the sentence context. We use the method proposed by *G. Helbig* and *W. Schenkel* for the valence investigations of German verbs and take the entry of 'verkaufen' from the 'Wörterbuch zur Valenz und Distribution deutscher Verben'.

(4) verkaufen

I. verkaufen$_2$

II. verkaufen —— Sn, Sa, (Sd pS)

III. Sn —— 1. Hum (*Der Besitzer* verkauft das Haus.)

—— 2. Abstr(als Hum) (*Die Gesellschaft* verkauft das Haus.)

Sa —— 1. ±Anim(-Hum) (Er verkauft ***seine Pferde/ seine Grundstücke***.)

2. Abstr (Er verkauft *die Lizenz*.)

Sd —— 1. Hum (Er verkauft *dem Nachbarn* den Garten.

2. Abstr (als Hum) (Er verkauft *der Genossenschaft das Haus*.)

p=an
pSA —— 1. Hum (Er verkauft das Haus *an den Nachbarn*.)

2. Abstr (als Hum) (Er verkauft das Haus *an die Genossenschaft*.)

For 'to sell' we give the following description. We did not take 'to sell' as a Phrasal Verb and did not consider the possibility to use 'to sell' in the sense of 'to be tricked'. We took the '*Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*' by *A. S. Hornby* to get the variants of this verb. Because the English case system is differently structured we had to change some abbreviations. Sn corresponds to S (Subject), Sa to 0 (Object), Sd to i0 (indirect Object) and pSA corresponds to pS (Noun + preposition).

(5) to sell

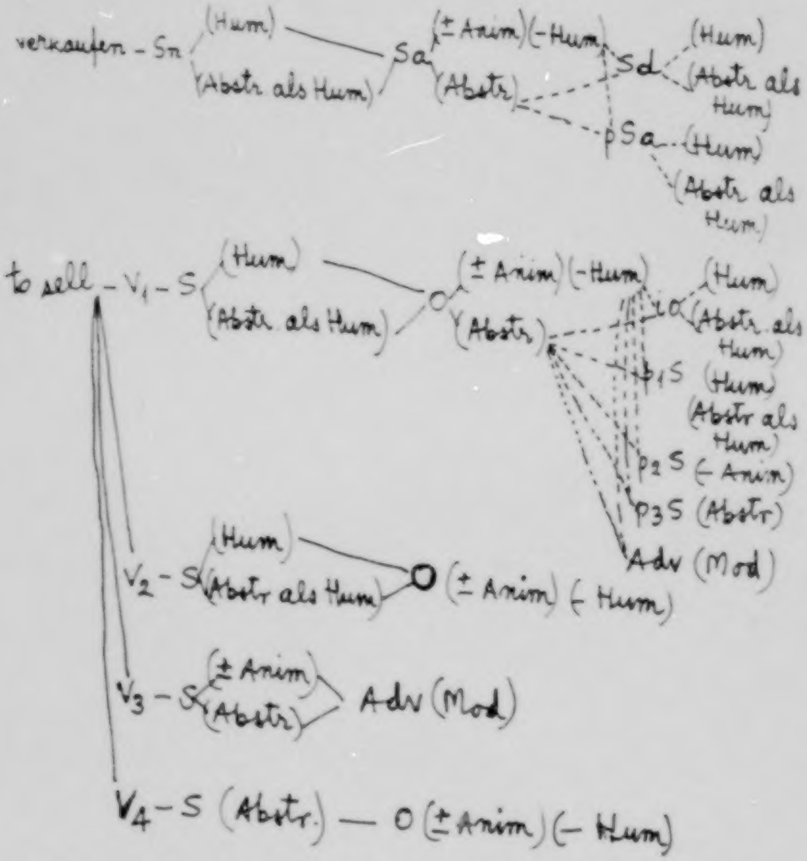
I. to sell$_2$ (V_1=to give in exchange for money)
II. to sell —— S, 0, (i0 p_1S, p_2S, p_3S ,Adv)
III. S —— 1. Hum (*Mr. Miller* is selling a radio.)
2. Abstr (als Hum) (*The company* is selling a house.)
0 —— 1. ± Anim(—Hum) (He is selling *the garden/two cows.*)
2. Abstr (He has sold *the patent.*)
i0 —— 1. Hum (He is selling *his friend the book.*)
2. Abstr (als Hum) (He is selling the *library* his books.)
p=to
p_1S —— 1. Hum (He is selling the book *to the pupil.*)
2. Abstr (als Hum) (He is selling his books *to the library.*)
p=for
p_2S —— —Anim (I will sell the painting *for 50 $.*)
p=by
p_3S —— Abstr (They sell the goods *by the ton.*)
Adv —— Mod (He sells the goods *at a reasonable price.*)

I. to sell$_2$ (V_2=to be a dealer in)
II. to sell —— S, 0
III. S —— 1. Hum (*Mr. Miller* sells wool.)
2. Abstr (als Hum) (*Our branch* sells chemicals.)
0 —— ± Anim (-Hum) (Do you sell *needles/crabs?*)

I. to sell$_2$ (V_3=to find buyers)
II. to sell —— S, Adv
III. S —— 1. ± Anim (*Tennisballs/pets* sell best in summer.)
2. Abstr (*This licence* sells best overseas.)
Adv —— Mod (These articles sell *well.*)

I. to sell$_2$ (B_4=to cause to be sold)
II. to sell —— S, 0
III. S —— Abstr (*Quality* sells our products.)
0 —— ± Anim (-Hum) (Quality sells *our goods/cattle.*)

We can easily compare both verbs when we compare the syntactic and semantic surroundings by means of what we call 'marker-sequences'. The underlined markers have the same sequence in both verbs. In the case, where 'verkaufen' has got the same sequence as a semantic variant of 'to sell' we can use it as a target language equivalent.


verkaufen - Sn
(Hum)
(Abstr als Hum)
Sa
(± Anim)
(- Hum)
(Abstr)
Sd
(Hum)
(Abstr als Hum)
pSa
(Hum)
(Abstr als Hum)
to sell - V1 - S
(Hum)
(Abstr als Hum)
O
(± Anim)
(- Hum)
(Abstr)
iO
(Hum)
(Abstr als Hum)
p1S
(Hum)
(Abstr als Hum)
p2S
(- Anim)
p3S
(Abstr)
Adv
(Mod)
V2 - S
(Hum)
(Abstr als Hum)
O
(± Anim)
(- Hum)
V3 - S
(± Anim)
(Abstr)
Adv (Mod)
V4 - S (Abstr) — O (± Anim) (- Hum)

(A) The company is selling the house — Die Genossenschaft verkauft das Haus

(B) He is selling his horses — Er verkauft seine Pferde

(C) He has sold the patent — Er hat das Patent verkauft

In the case when we have a different sequence of semantic and syntactic markers, we can not use 'verkaufen' as an equivalent for the source-language (SL) unit 'to sell'. We must look for verbs, which have variants with the same or similar sequence as 'to sell'. The variant **V₂** for example has not the same sequence of semantic and syntactic markers of 'verkaufen'. But the semantic variant V of 'führen' fulfils the demand.

(6) **führen**

I. führen (V =etw. haben)

II. führen —— Sn, Sa

III. Sn —— 1. Hum (*Der Fleischer* führt Wurstkonserven.)

2. Abstr (als Hum (*Der Laden* führt Schnittkäse.)

Sa —— ± Anim (-Hum) (Der Laden führt *Zierfische*/*Heizgeräte*.)

$$\text{führen} - V_n - S_n \begin{matrix}(\text{Hum})\\ (\text{Abstr. als Hum})\end{matrix} \text{———} Sa\,(\pm\,\text{Anim})\,(-\,\text{Hum})$$

Because of the same sequence of syntactic and semantic markers of 'führen' and 'to sell' (variant B_2) we can use 'führen' as a target-language (TL) unit.

(D) This shop sells Hungarian wine — Dieser Laden führt ungarischen Wein.

The difference of the sequence of semantic and syntactic markers between 'führen' and 'verkaufen' is also shown by the fact, that 'führen' is not synonymous to 'verkaufen' in German.

If the TL-unit does not have syntactic and semantic markers which are relevant for the SL-unit, the TL-unit can not be taken as a possible equivalent for the SL-unit. But if there are other units in the TL, which have the demanded invariant semantic markers of the SL-unit, we can take these units as equivalents for the SL-unit.

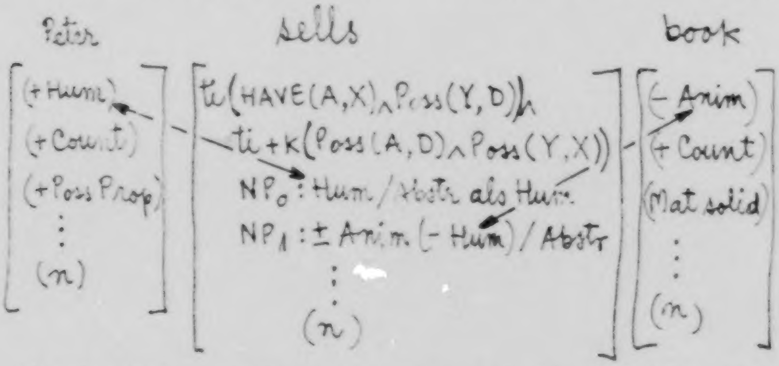
If the relevant semantic markers (s) are invariant and occur in both units, we can take the TL-unit as an equivalent for the SL-unit:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} S_1\ (SL) & & S_1'\ (TL) \\ \begin{bmatrix} s_1 \\ s_2 \\ \vdots \\ s_n \end{bmatrix} & = & \begin{bmatrix} s_1' \\ s_2' \\ \vdots \\ s_n' \end{bmatrix} \end{array}$$

But, if the semantically relevant markers of the SL-unit are not contained in the TL-unit, we can not take the TL-unit as an equivalent in translation :

$$\begin{array}{ccc} S_1 \ (SL) & & S_1{}' \ (TL) \\ \begin{bmatrix} s_1 \\ s_2 \\ \vdots \\ s_n \end{bmatrix} & \neq & \begin{bmatrix} s_4{}' \\ s_7{}' \\ \vdots \\ s_n{}' \end{bmatrix} \end{array}$$

The faculty of a verb to be combined with other units within a sentence depends mainly on compatibility relations between the semes of the verb and those of the units which stand in the position of the semantic object or semantic subject. These semantic deep structure relations one could explain with the help of the following drawing :



The description of the core structure of the verb does not vary from language to language with speakers with the same social and cultural background. The context semes we get from the description of the possible syntactic and semantic surroundings of the verb by means of valence investigations. The semes of the semes of the nouns which stand in subject and object position are hierarchically ordered and can be proved by psycholinguistic tests. Those semes which stand in a very 'high' position within a semene are very likely to be the most relevant semes of the investigated semantic unit. Until now we can not make a clear distinction between core semes and context semes, but we can often see semes which do depend very much on the context, and others which are so to speak 'frozen' structures, relatively independent of the sentence context.

Our example was only given to show one possibility how to use valence theory in contrastive linguistics. This method of investigation of verbs could help to make better dictionaries and to show difficulties in translation not only intuitively but with concrete analyses.

Our short paper was only a small contribution to contrastive analysis projects. For more information see the articles and books listed in our list of references.

Abbreviations and Symbols

For the detailed explanation of the abbreviations used by M. Bierwisch, D. Parisi and G. Wotjak see the articles or books of those authors in our refrence list.

Sn	— Substantiv im Nominativ (noun in the nominative case)
Sa	— Substantiv im Akkusativ (noun in the accusative case)
Sd	— Substantiv im Dativ (noun in the dative case)
p	— preposition
pSA	— präpositionales Substantiv im Akkusativ (prepositional noun in the accusative case)
V	— variant
S	— subject
0	— object
i0	— indirect object
pS	— noun + preposition
Adv	— adverb
Hum	— human
Anim	— animate
Abstr	— abstract
Abstr (als Hum)	— abstract noun where human beings are involved e.g. for collective nouns like (institute, ministry)
Mod	— modal
S	— semene
s	— seme (semantic marker)
SL	— source language
TL	— target language
Count	— countable
Poss Prop	— can enter a property relation
Mat solid	— solid material

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THE SEMANTICS OF FALSE-PAIR ANALYSIS

VLADIMIR IVIR

0. Interference in language contacts — foreign language acquisition and use, translation from and into the foreign language — results from false pairing. The learner or translator establishes certain pairs of items in the two languages and assumes that they stand in a relation of formal-semantic equivalence and that he can use the L_2 item in the same way in which he uses the L_1 item. (The way in which he goes about setting up such pairs does not concern us here, though it is clearly a question of paramount psycholinguistic and pedagogical interest.) It may happen that the L_2 item will fit satisfactorily all those contexts of situation in which its L_1 counterpart is used — and the learner's assumption will have been confirmed. It may also happen that the L_2 item will fit none of the contexts of situation characteristic of the L_1 item — and the teaching effort will have to be directed towards correcting the possible errors stemming from this fact. Most frequently, however, the L_2 item will fit some contexts of situation characteristic of the L_1 item but not others. This last case, one of partial similarity interpreted by the learner as complete identity,, gives rise to errors which are more numerous and persistent than those which stem from obvious semantic disparity.

We speak of a false pair each time that an L_2 item corresponds to an L_1 item in its formal shape, in the linguistic label which covers it, in some aspects of its meaning or use, or in a combination of two these three things but not in all of them. When the learner misuses the lexical item *eventually*, the error is caused by the identity of form which is not accompanied by the identity of semantic content. When he misuses the present tense in English (instead of the present perfect) in situation in which the present tense is appropriate in Serbo-Croatian, this is due to his belief that since both languages have an identically labelled tense they must be using it in the same way. Finally, when he uses *discover* where, for instance, *unveil* is appropriate, this is because he has observed the semantic link between the Serbo-Croatian *otkriti* and the English *discover* and is not easily prepared to grant that *otkriti* could be anything else but *discover*.

Though all these are, properly speaking, examples of false pairs, the term is generally used in a more restricted sense to include lexical items which are formally similar but semantically different[1]. The lexical items are either borrowed from a third language and suffering different fates in the two languages or are borrowed by one of the languages in question from the other with a certain modification in semantic content.

1. The contrastive analysis of false pairs in the more narrow sense is of a considerable practical importance ; it supplements the information in bilingual dictionaries, which often take the same view that the learner takes and fail to record semantic differences between phonologically / graphologically related items. The theoretical significance of such a study for contrastive analysis consists in showing very clearly the kinds of distinctions that have to be made in order to capture the semantic variations of one and the same lexical item in two languages. Presumably, those distinctions will also be needed in contrasting lexical items which are not related phonologically and / or graphologically. The fact that false pairs are so related serves as the necessary *tertium comparationis* to justify the analyst's pairing of these items. The *tertium comparationis* for phonologically / graphologically unrelated lexical items is their semantic content ; consequently, correspondences are established on the basis of translation equivalence. In the case of phonologically / graphologically related lexical items the danger of an analytical vicious circle is avoided through the use of a formal *tertium comparationis* which is independent of the semantic content of the paired items.

The matrix of semantic relationships between phonologically / graphologically related lexical items in L_1 and L_2 can be drawn in the following way :

$$L_1 = L_2$$
$$L_1 \gtrless L_2$$
$$L_1 \neq L_2$$

2. The relationship of full identity holds between 'true' pairs, whose components of meaning are matched and which are used in identical contexts of situation. While lexical items with fully matching semantic components[2] are not hard to find among formally (and also etymo-

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[1] This is the sense in which the term is normally understood. Cf. M. Koessler & J. Derocquigny, *Les faux amis ou les pièges du vocabulaire anglais*, 5th ed., Paris, Vuibert, 1961 ; F. Boillot, *Le vrai ami du traducteur anglais-français et français-anglais*, 2nd ed., Paris, Oliven, 1956 ; W. Fischer, *Leicht verwechselbare Wörter den englischen und französischen Sprache*, München, Max Hueber Verlag, 1964 ; V. Ivir, "Serbo-Croat — English False Pair Types", *Studia Romanica et Anglica Zagrabiensia*, 26—26, 1968, 149—159 ;
A. Bantaş şi M. Rădulescu, *'Capcanele' vocabularului englez*, Editura Ştiinţifică, Bucureşti, 1967.

[2] No exhaustive componential analysis — with all its attendant problems — is required for purposes of false-pair contrasting. Only differential components need to be listed, while those which are found to be the same need be specified or analyzed in detail. Also, no universal set of semantic components given in advance is taken for granted in this analysis. But it is expected that a contribution to such a set can be made since there are components of meaning which become more readily "visible" in inter- lingual contrast than in intra-lingual analytical decomposition.

logically) related pairs, finding those which are used in exactly parallel contexts is much more difficult. For some scientific and technical words in Serbo-Croatian and English no difference can be found in components of meaning or patterns of use: *botanika — botany, molekula — molecule, fiziologija — physiology, kineziterapija — hinesitherapy,* etc. For others, however, semantic components may agree perfectly but the pattern of use varies.

This may be due in the first place to the different ranges of collocation that a given item has in the two languages. Thus, for instance, *kemijski* and *chemical* do not differ in any detectable components of meaning but they do differ in certain collocations into which the Serbo-Croatian item enters and the English does not: *kemijsko čišćenje (*chemical cleaning) — dry cleaning, kemijska olovka (*chemical pencil) — ball-point pen, kemijski odjel (*chemical department) — chemistry department.* Similarly, *elastičan* agrees very well with *elastic,* but in collocations *elastični sistem, elastični mozak, elastični plan, elastične cijene* the preferred English item is *flexible: flexible system / mind / plan / shedule / prices. Stilski* and *stylistic* agree, but not in the collocation *stilsko pokućstvo (*stylistic furniture) — period furniture.*

Examples like these show the importance of the study of collocations for contrastive analysis. Unless warned of the possible collocational 'deviation' in L_2, the learner has no reason to suspect that something might go wrong with his use of a lexical item that he has learned to regard as fully equivalent between L_1 and L_2. This is true not just of the lexical items which are phonologically / graphologically related in the two languages but of all lexical items for which the learner establishes one-to-one correspondences in his mind. This explains mistranslations in the following cases: *kuhinjska sol (*kitchen salt) — table salt, umjetnički / igrani film (*artistic / played film) — feature film, zemni plin (*earth gas) — natural gas, slatkovodna riba (*sweetwater fish) — fresh water fish,* etc. More importantly, normal idiomatic ways of expression remain outside the learner's reach when he cannot use collocations in L_2 properly: starting from the Serbo-Croatian expressions *poprimiti oblik, odvesti se taksijem, popeti se liftom, pohadjati tečaj, iskoristiti priliku, poći na šetnju,* he will produce grammatical English translations of varying idiomaticity such as *assume the form, drive in a taxi, go up in the elevator, attend a course, use the opportunity, go for a walk,* but he will miss expressions which a native speaker of English would spontaneously use in such situations: *take the form, take a taxi, take the elevator, take a course, take the opportunity, take a walk.*

All this shows that the study of collocational ranges forms a necessary part of the process of lexical contrasting. Lexical pairs which are shown as equivalent in bilingual dictionaries, or found to be equivalent when their definitions in the respective unilingual dictionaries are contrasted, cannot be regarded as fully equivalent before their collocational ranges are contrasted also. At points where these do not match, we have false pairs. It seems to be useful to distinguish such distributionally produced false pairs from those which stem from different componential structures. Collocational analysis is seen here as a necessary supplement to componential analysis, not as a substitute for it.

Another kind of distributional study which points to differences between L_1 and L_2 lexical items possessing an identical set of semantic components is done in terms of frequency, geographical distribution, stylistic level and register. Thus, the Serbo-Croatian *aerodrom* has the English *aerodrome* / *airdrome* as its phonological / graphological counterpart with the same set of components but with a markedly different frequency : while the Serbo-Croatian items is a normal, unmarked term, the English item is marked and unsual and rarely used. Dictionaries note this fact with various restrictive labels, such as 'rarely used', 'used formerly', 'restricted to British English' ; some note that *airport*, *flying-field*, *airfield* are normal terms, and the learner's job is to learn to discriminate among them and to sort out the relation between this set and the Serbo-Croatian set including *aerodrom*, *zračna luka*, *uzletište*. (He can be helped in this by a contrastive analysis of lexical fields.) In most cases, however, the information given in the dictionary is not sufficient to alert the learner : to correspond to Serbo-Croatian *analfabet* unilingual English dictionaries have *analphabet*, possibly directing the user to *illiterate* for a definition but failing to tell him that the latter is the normal word of English while the former is hardly ever used. The learner's inability to recognize the frequency status of L_2 items which correspond formally and in terms of semantic content to certain L_1 items is responsible for his straightforward use of lexical items which "exist only in dictionaries", just as his inability to recognize the register status of certain items leads to his use in colloquial contexts of lexical items which belong to technical language. As with collocations, he assumes that lexical items which agree in semantic content must agree in register also : since Serbo-Croatian *ambijent* is used not only in technical but also in non-technical registers, he readily extends the English noun *ambient* into non-technical contexts ; if he learns that *ambient* is very rare as a noun and that *ambience* is the proper correspondent of *ambijent*, he will favour this term to the exclusion of the normal non-technical terms such as *enviroment*, *atmosphere*, *surroundings*. Similarly, stylistic variation must be considered in contrasting 'true' pairs : Serbo-Croatian *funkcionar* and English *functionary* do not differ in semantic content but in stylistic value, with the Serbo-Croatian term being neutral and the English term being negative and contemptuous. The neutral English equivalent of *funkcionar* is therefore not *functionary* but *official*.

3. The second group of phonologically/graphologically related lexical items are false pairs proper — those which gave the name to this phenomenon and which are normally thought of when false pairs are mentioned. These are lexical items which do not agree in terms of their semantic components or — quite naturally — in terms of the contexts of situation in which they are used. With differences being so gross, such pairs are less interesting both analytically and pedagogically. Examples like the following are well-known in various European languages and English : *aktualan* ('current', 'topical', 'present', 'urgent', 'timely', 'up-to-date') — *actual* ('zbiljski' 'stvaran'), *baraka* ('shed', 'shack', 'hut') —*barracks* ('hasarna', *direkcija* ('top management', 'board of directors', 'main head office', 'headquarters') — *direction* ('smjer', 'pravac', 'upravljanje', *diversija* ('sabotage', 'subversion') — *diversion* ('skretanje', 'razonoda', 'lažni manevar'), — *eventualan* ('possible') — *eventul* ('konačan', 'krajnji'), — *evidencija* ('records', 'files') — *evidence* ('dokaz', 'dokazni materijal', 'iskaz', 'svjedočenje', 'prisoutnost'), *genijalan* ('highly gifted', 'ingenious', 'brilliant', 'having the qulities of a genius') — *genial* ('blag', 'priajtan', 'ugodan'), — *kurentan* ('fast-selling'), — *current* ('tekući', 'sadašnji'), *realan* ('realistic', 'down-to-earth') — *real* ('stvaran') — *sindikat* ('trade unions', 'unions') — *syndicate* ('novinski trust', 'poslovno udruženje', 'sveučilišni senat', 'gangstersko udruženje'), and many others. A nearly exhaustive list of such pairs could be drawn for any two languages and proper equivalents could be taught. It takes no extra refined sense of discrimination on the part of the learner to avoid such erros. Occasional infiltrations are possible from one language into the other through repeated faulty translations which result in the addition of the foreign components of meaning to the one already present in a given language; this has happened in Serbo-Croatian recently with the lexical items *brigadir* and *petroley*. *Brigadir* exists in the language in the sense 'team / group leader', 'leading / charge hand', 'assistant petty foreman', while the English *brigadier* is 'brigandi general', 'zapovjednik brigade'; *petrolej* is 'kerosene oil', while *petroleum* is 'nafta', and *petrol* is 'benzin'. But under the influence of English, one now finds *brigadir* used in the sense of 'brigadier' and *petrolej* in the sense of 'petroleum'. The earlier meanings of these items remain in the language, and the new meanings are added to them. Once this happens, the lexical item in question moves from the group characterized by the total disparity of meaning to another consisting of pairs which display a partial similarity of meaning (i.e., share some, but by no means all, semantic components).

4. The third group of phonologically/graphologically related lexical items includes precisely those pairs which share some components and differ in others. The relationship can be graphically shown as $L_1 \gtrless L_2$, which means that the L_2 member of the pair might have some components of meaning which its L_1 member is narrower and L_2 broader (i.e., $L_1 < L_2$), semantic interference for L_1 native speakers as learners of L_2 does not appear. The components that the L_1 item does not have will not be utilized by the learner, but he will have to establish other correspondences for the semantic features that his native member of the pair does not include. If the Serbo-Croatian *asistent* is limited to helpers in teaching, research, medicine, and film and television, the learner will have to learn that the English *assistant* is used not only for this but also for *pomoćnik*, and in particular for *trgovački pomoćnik*. Similarly, for *chemist* he will have to learn that it corresponds not only to *kemičar* but also to *apotekar*, *farmaceut*, and *ljekarnik*, or *minister* not only to *ministar*, but also to *svećenik*, *poslanik*, *izvršilac*, *orudje*. Sometimes the learning of those components of meaning that the L_1 item does not possess will prove difficult, and those senses of the L_2 item will remain

underused. A Serbo-Croatian learner of English, used as he is to the meaning of *agonija* as 'death throes' or 'extreme suffering', will not easily apply the English *agony* in the meaning of 'a strong sudden display of feeling', as in *agony of tears*, *agony of joy*. For the Serbo-Croatian correspondents of this part of the meaning of *agony* (*paroksizam*, *izljev*), he will seek other English translations (for instance, *paroxysm*, *outburst*). The Serbo-Croatian adjective *eminentan* covers the 'distinguished' part of the semantic content of the English adjective *eminent*, but it does not cover the 'remarkable in degree' component; for that reason, *eminent*, in *a man of eminent goodness*, *eminent peaks*, or *eminent nose*, will not be the learner's immediate counterpart for *izvanredan* (*čovjek izvanredne dobrote*), *visok* (*visoki vrhunci*), or *izrazit* (*izraziti nos*). With *catholic* also, he will easily use the English term when it corresponds to Serbo-Croatian *katolički*, but not when it corresponds to *širok* (*catholic tastes*) or *širokogrudan* / *liberalan* (*catholic approach*).

The broader aspects of semantic content may sometimes be transferred from L$_2$ to L$_1$ through translation. This is the kind of interference that does not concern foreign language use but rather the fate of the native language exposed to the influence of a foreign language. Thus the Serbo-Croatian *šampion* includes only the semantic content 'one that wins the first place in a sports competition', but not 'one who fights for, or defends, a person or cause'. But, under the influence of English, that latter meaning has appeared in Serbo-Croatian recently, replacing *pobornik*, *zagovornik*, or *branitelj* in expressions like *šampion mira* 'a champion of peace'.

5. Potentially the most serious source of interference is the situation L$_1$ > L$_2$, i. e. one in which the L$_1$ member of the pair contains components not present in the L$_2$ member. In this situation, the phonological graphological relatedness of the two items and their semantic similarity in the part of the content which they share strengthen the learner's belief that they must be a 'true' pair for whose use no caution is needed. With its use of a single formal item for a variety of semantic components, the learner's native language conceals the distinctions which L$_2$ makes explicit. Illustrative examples abound: in addition to the meaning it shares with English *administration* ('management of public affairs', 'government'), Serbo-Croatian *administracija* also has meanings for which *administration* cannot be used as a counterpart (they include 'clerical service', 'paper work', 'office staff', 'office'). Some of the shared and added semantic components are sufficiently distinct to be easily detected, while others are more subtle. The difference between the Serbo-Croatian *akt* ('something done', 'document', 'nude') and the English act ('something done') is not difficult to demonstrate. (The fact that *act* also has meanings that *akt* does not have, such as 'law', 'division of a play', and 'item in a programme'), would show up in the analysis of items which are narrower in L$_1$ and broader in L$_2$, as discussed in section 4 above.) Similarly, with *auditorij* ('building, or part of a building, in which an audience sits' and 'audience') vs. *auditorium* ('building, or part of a building, in which an audience sits'); *himna* ('song of praise' and 'anthem') vs. *hymn* ('song

of praise'); *perspektiva* ('view' and 'prospect') vs. *perspective* ('view'); *profesor* ('secondary school teacher' and 'university teacher') vs. *professor* ('university teacher'), etc. With some other pairs, semantic distinctions are more difficult to make: *akcija* and *action* both mean a process of doing things, but while Serbo-Croatian does not distinguish the things that are being done, English does: thus we get *akcija za pružanje pomoći — relief work, akcija spasavanja — rescue operation, radne akcije —voluntary work drive, akcija opismenjivanja — literacy campaign, akcija prikupljanja pomoći — raising collection of funds, akcija za sigurnost u prometu — traffic safety plan scheme*. Among the more troublesome pairs for Serbo-Croatian learners of English we find *objekt* and *object*. They agree in the meanings 'physical object' and 'grammatical object', but in the concretization of the former meaning English is more specific than Serbo-Croatian: *industrijski objekti — industrial projects, ugostiteljsk iobjekt — catering establishment hotel resturant, proizvodni objekti — production facilities, vojni objekti — military installations, plovni objekt — vessel*. In cases like these the contrasting of semantic components cannot easly account for the differences between the two languages and must again be supplemented by collocational analysis.

6. One more phenomenon in connection with false pairs deserves to be mentioned. This is the phenomenon of learner-invented pairs, morghologically well-formed though non-existent in L_2. Whole lexical items or their elements (prefixes and suffixes) get transferred from L_1 to L_2 — usually those borrowed by L_1, but not by L_2, from another language. Thus we get the pairs *obdukcija* — *_obduction_ ('post-mortem', 'autopsy'), *depriminan* — *_deprimed_ ('depressed'), *klimatizacija* — *_climatization_ ('air-conditioning'), *desant* — *_desant_ ('parachute drop', 'airborne attack', 'amphibious landing'), *agrotehnika* — *_agrotechnics_ ('modern farming methods', 'modern methods in agriculture'), *destimulans* — *_destimulans_ ('disincentive'), *interpunkcija* — *_interpunction_ ('punctuation'), *dezinformirati* — *_disinform_ ('misinform'), *autoportret* — *_autoportrait_ ('self-portrait'), *deklinacija* — *_declination_ ('declension'), *geolog* — *_geolog_ ('geologist'), etc.

POUR UNE STRATÉGIE DE LA RECHERCHE DANS LA LINGUISTIQUE CONTRASTIVE

RAREŞ MARINESCU

0.1. L'approche de l'acquisition d'une langue seconde (L_2) dans les termes de l'analyse contrastive n'était pas encore vérifiée dans les techniques de la classe (cf. Rivers, W. M., 1968), lorsque certains chercherus avaient déja preposé un autre type de recherche, l'analyse des erreurs, qui, selon leur opinion, pourrait rendre compte de la stratégie de *l'apprentissage* de la L_2, en justifiant, ipso facto, la stratégie de *l'enseignement*.

Et les chercheurs d'adopter l'analyse contrastive (AC) ou l'analyse des erreurs (AE), comme s'il s'agissait de deux genres de recherches rivales et non complémentaires. Même si l'on reconnait leur caractère complémentaire, on se contente d'affirmer que l'option AC vs AE est un problème d''objectifs (cf. Nickel, G., 1971).

Or, le problème des *objectifs* n'est pas le seul critère pertinent dans la définition des rapports entre l'AC et l'AE, *l'intérêt* et *l'utilité* que ces deux disciplines présentent dupoint de vue des connaissances dont nous disponsons aujoud'hui étant des critères aussi importants que celui des objectifs.

0.2. Pour une mise en garde contre une application euphorisante des principes de la linguistiques et de la psychologie dans la pédagogie de la L_2, où tout doit être démontré et ne peut être posé à priori, il faut trouver les réponses aux questions suivantes, qui résument d'ailleurs notre démarche dans la justification de la stratégie de la stratégie de la recherche :

Quelles sont les connaissances, dont nous disposons dans le domaine de l'enseignement et de l'apprentissage de la L_2, qui peuvent nous éclairer dans le choix d'une orientation utile et intéressante de la recherche ?

Quelles sont les possibilités que ces deux directions de recherche offerent-elles au développement de la pratique pédagogique ?

Lequel de ces deux faisceaux de problèmes — celui d'ordre linguistique, concernant l'analyse de la structure de la tâche, ou bien celui d'ordre psychologique, concernant l'analyse de l'exécution de la tâche — est le plus significatif dans l'élaboration d'une méthode de la L_2?

1.0. Les spécialistes dans les théories de l'instruction et de l'apprentissage sont unanimes à reconnaitre la priorité de l'analyse de la tâche à apprendre, qui perment d'expliciter les objectifs nécessaires à l'établissement des normes de cette tâche, en releugant au second plan l'analyse des processus psychologiques d'apprentissage, qui n'est pas possible qu'après avoir établi les normes de la tâche à apprendre. Dans les théories de l'apprentissage, Hilgard, E. R., et Bower, G. H., (1966) estiment que l'étude d'une situation d'apprentissage n'est pas concevable sans l'analyse préalable de la nature de la tâche et Gagné, R.M., (1965) a prouvé que dans l'absence d'une telle analyse on ne saurait mettre en pratique les découvertes qui portes sur l'apprentissage.

Dans la théorie de l'instruction, Bruner, J.S (1967) adopte la même opinion, en affirmant que la théorie de l'instruction s'occupe de la manière dont on peut mieux apprendre les connaissances, tandis que les théories de l'apprentissage s'occupent de l'exploration des limites de la performance, la première étant une science *prescriptive* et *normative*, et la deuxième une science *descriptive* et *explicative*. En tant que science prescriptive et normative, la théorie de l'instruction se trouve au centre de la didactique, ayant pour but la perfectionnement de l'enseignement et non pas sa description.

1.1. Les connaissances disponibles dans ces deux domaines justifient donc l'orientation de la recherche vers cet ensemble de problème qui concernent l'analyse de la *structure des connaissances* dans le cadre de la théorie de l'instruction, avant d'aborder l'ensemble des problèmes qui concernant *l'analyse de l'aquisition* de ces connaissances, dans le cadre des théories de l'apprentissage.

Nous avons montré ailleurs (en transformant les propositions générales de la théorie de l'instruction en hypothèses contrastives, *cf.* Marinescu, R. 1975) que l'AC peut être incorporée dans la théorie de l'instruction, en légitimant l'utilité de cette discipline dans l'élaboration d'une grammaire scolaire. Par conséquent, la réponse à la première question est également valable dans le domaine particulier de l'enseignement et de l'apprentissage de la L_2 et la première conclusion qui s'impose au sujet de l'orientation de la recherche dans la linguistique contrastive est que l'AE, en tant que discipline explicative et descriptive, n'est pas applicable dans l'absence de l'AC, en tant que discipline normative et prescriptive.

2.0. La relation qui s'établit entre la théorie et la pratique fournit, elle aussi, des arguments à l'appui de la même orientation de la recherche vers la théorie de l'instruction en général et vers l'AC en particulier. Hilgard et Bower (op. cit.) ont prouvé que les contraintes caractéristiques de la théorie etde la pratique dans le domaine de l'apprentissage et la pratique pédagogique, la mise en pratique des principes de l'apprentissage comportant six étapes, dont les trois premières se situent au niveau de la recherche fondamentale (I) et les trois dernières au niveau de la recherche appliqué (II), (*cf.* le schéma 1),

Schéma No 1

I.	1. Principes fondamentaux de l'apprentissage.	2. Etude des processus de l'apprentissage en laboratoire.	3. Problèmes significatifs dans la situation scolaire.
II.	4. Etude de ces problèmes dans des conditions expérimentales.	5. Vérification des résultats dans la classe.	6. Validation ds résultats dans la pratique pédagogique.

Comme la majorité des recherches s''arrêtent aux deux premières étapes, les théories de l'enseignement s'appliquent d''une façon mécanique en brûlant les étapes, sans bien connaitre les implications des principes de l'apprentissage dans la technologie de l'enseignement. En outre, dans l'absence d'une théorie scientifique de l'apprentissage, la pratique pédagogique ne peut pas se développer par la mise en pratique de quelques principes éclectiques.

2.1. En revanche, la théorie de l'instruction semble être mieux équipée pour répondre auxbesoins de la pratique pédagogique : cette théorie n'est pas déduite de la description des performances dans une situation arbitraire, mais elle est élaborée dans le but d'organiser l'enseignement en suivant certains objectifs destinés à améliorer l'apprentissage (Bruner, J.S., op. cit.).

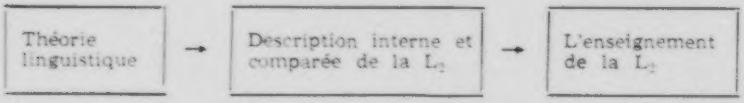
Le problème de la fixation des *objectifs* devient ainsi un problème crucial dans la réalisation d'un rapport direct entre la théorie et la pratique de l'enseignement : à la différence des théories de l'apprentissage, dont l'objectif est d'obtenir des preuves à l'appui d'une hypothèse dictée par les préoccupations du chercheur, la théorie de l'enseignement prévoit ses objectifs en fonction d'un comportament standart, dont les normes correspondent aux règles communément admises.

Qui plus est, les objectifs spécifient aussi les conditions dans lesquelles on peut s'attendre à l'apparition de ce comportement, ainsi que les critères de son acceptabilité (cf. Mager, R.F., 1961). Par conséquent, les objectifs de l'instruction, étant fixés à partir de l'analyse de la compétence généralementadmise, répondent directement aux besoins de la pratique de l'instruction.

2.2. Ces relations entre la théorie et la pratique vérifient-elles dans un cas particulier comme celui de l'enseignement et de l'apprentissage de la L_2 ? Les deux théories en question portent sur un *type général* de connaissances "au sujet de" la langue, en tant *qu'objet d'étude* (la compétence acquise dans les disciplines qui étudient la langue) et non pas sur *le type particulier* de connaissances "de" langue qui sous-tendent son emploi (la compétence linguistique ou la faculté d'utiliser le language). La faculté d'utiliser le langage n'étant pas fonction de l'étude de la grammaire, le problème de l'intégration de l'enseignement de la L_2 dans la théories de l'instruction ne se pose pas dans les termes de la conversion des connaissance grammaticales en connaissances "de" langue, mais dans les termes d'une théorie linguistique capable de simuler le fonctionnement de ces connaissances linguistiques.

2.2.1. Chomsky N., (1966), suggère, à ce sujet, quatre principes de la théories linguistique qui peuvent infléchir l'enseignement des langues : l'aspect "créatif" du langage, le caractrère abstrait de la représentation linguistique, l'universalité de la structure linguistique sous-jacente et le rôle de l'organisation intriséque dans les processus cognitif. A ces quatres principes qui concernent la description "interne" de la L_2 on peut ajouter le cinquième, qui concerne la description *comparée* de la L_2, en assignant à l'AC la tâche de prévoir la possibilité d'acquérir la L_2 (en vertu de l'existence d'une structure profonde universelle), ainsi que les difficultés de cette acquisition (sous la forme d'une liste de correspondences positives vs négatives au niveau des structures profonde ou superficielles). L'intégration de ces apports de la linguistique dans l'enseignement des langues perment d'établir un rapport direct entre la théorie et la pratique de l'enseignement, dont les objectifs sont fixés par la typologie interne et comparée de la L_2. (cf. le schéma Nr. 2)

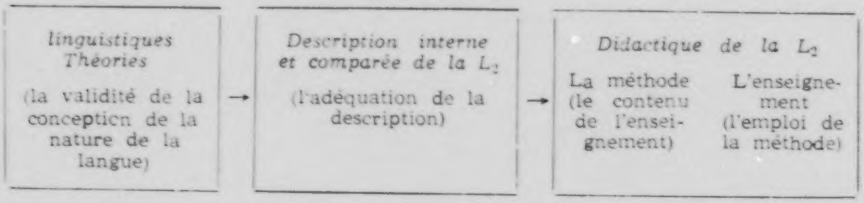
Schéma No 2


Théorie linguistique
Description interne et comparée de la L_2
L'enseignement de la L_2

2.2.2. Dans le domaine de l'apprentissage des langues, on ne dispose pas d'un modèle d'acquisition pour pouvoir établir un raport direct entre la théorie et la pratique de l'apprentissage, ce rapport ne pouvant être réalisé que dans le cadre du schéma Nr. 1, qui soulève des difficultés insurmontables.

2.2.3. La réponse à la deuxième question confirme donc l'orientation de la recherche dans la même sens, la seule discipline capable d'assurer la tâche du développement de la pédagogie étant l'AC, qui est mieux placée pour répondre aux besoins de la pratique. Finalement, on pourra rendre compte de l'indépendance relative de l'enseignement des langues par rapport aux théories de l'apprentissage en introduisant dans le schema les distinctions opérées par Mackey, W. F. (1972), qui a donné une assise solide à la *didactique des langues* par l'intégration des apports de la linguistique dans l'élaboration de la *méthode* (= le contenu de l'enseignement) et de l'*enseignement* (= l'emploi de la méthode), sans prendre en considération les variables de l'apprentissage. La didactique des langues dispose ainsi d'un réseau propre de facteurs qui permet son évaluation dans les termes de certains répères caractéristiques (la validité de la théorie linguistique concernant la nature de la langue, l'adéquation de la description linguistique, l'application de cette description dans la méthode et l'emploi de la méthode dans l'enseignement), (cf. le **schéma** Nr. 3)

Schéma No 3



linguistiques Théories
(la validité de la conception de la nature de la langue)
→
Description interne et comparée de la L_2
(l'adéquation de la description)
→
Didactique de la L_2
La méthode (le contenu de l'enseignement)
L'enseignement (l'emploi de la méthode)

3.0. En ce qui concerne la réponse à la troisième question, les mêmes chercheurs (cf. 1.0.) considèrent que, bien que la psychologie possède les instruments d'investigation des mécanismes de l'apprentissage, la théorie de l'instruction, qui opère avec les variables significatives dans l'élaboration d'un système d'instruction, est capable d'enregistrer non seulement la *nature des connaissances* mais aussi la *nature* de l'élèvt ainsi que les *processus de l''acuisition* des connaissances. En effet, la méthode une fois conçue, elle est vérifiée dans la pratique pédagogique au cours même de son élaboration, en assurant la collaboration des professeurs, des linguistes et des psychologues dans le perfectionnement de la méthode au cours de à mesure de son application dans le processus de l'instruction. L'utilisation des hypothèses contrastives dans l'élaboration de laméthode n'exclut donc pas l'approche psychologique des problèmes de l'activité en classe, la seule capable de fournir les données nécessaires à l'étude des mécanismes de l'apprentissage, en faisant varier ces conditions en fonction de l'itinéraire suivi par l'élève. Par conséquent, la contribution des psychologues est beaucoup plus efficace s'ils font leur apparition pendant l'élaboration et la vérification de la méthode, l'AE intervenant et en vérifiant les hypothèses contrastives au moment même de leur introduction dans la methode.

3.1. Les généralisations des théories de l'enseignement et de l'instruction se rencontrent ainsi dans une orientation commune de la recherche vers la connaissance de la nature des structures linguistiques comme une condition préalable à l'étude des mécanismes de leur acquisition. Le processus de l'instruction qui offre les meilleures conditions de verifier les hypothèses contrastives, en perfectionnant la méthode au moment même de son élaboration, établit par conséquent un rapport direct entre la recherche théorique (la linguistique, la psychologie et la sociolinguistique) et appliquée (l'AC et l'AE), ainsi que le rapport d'interdépendance biunivoque entre les deux branches de la recherche qui sous-tendent l'enseignement et l'apprentissagede la L_2 (cf. le schéma Nr. 4)

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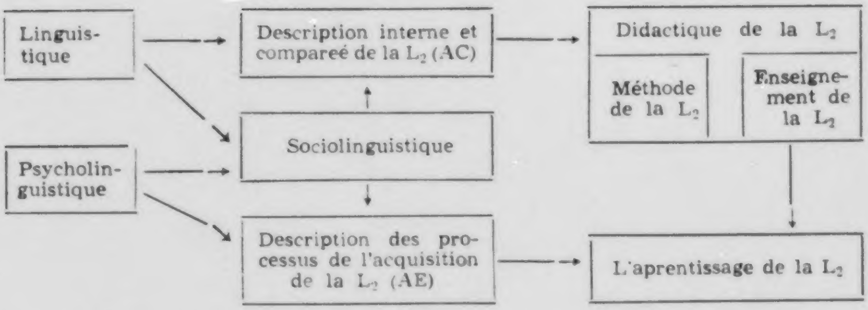
Schéma No 4


Linguistique
Psycholinguistique
Description interne et compareé de la L_2 (AC)
Sociolinguistique
Description des processus de l'acquisition de la L_2 (AE)
Didactique de la L_2
Méthode de la L_2
Enseignement de la L_2
L'aprentissage de la L_2

4. Les problèmes de l'acquisition de la L_2 se situent à la frontière de plusieurs sciences — la linguistique, la psycholinguistique et la sociolinguistique — chacune de ces disciplines pouvant contribuer é l'etude de ces problèmes dans la mesure où elles disposent de moyens d'application dans la didactique des languages. C'est dans cette perspective pédagogique que nous avons essayé de suggérer une stratégie de la recherche, en examinant les possibilités d'application des deux disciplines qui se sont associées comme sciences dans l'étude de l'acquisition de la L_2 (AC, qui concerne la nature des connaissances et AE qui concerne l'acquisition de ces connaissances), en assurant ainsi les conditions du développement de la pratique pédagogique dans les conditions des connaissances et des techniques actuelles.

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MODALITY AND SPEECH ACTS IN A CONSTRATIVE ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN

ELENA BÎRĂ

The present study ia concerned with the examination of the relationship between modality and speech acts, with a focus on the English and Romanian modal verbs.

For the purposes of the contrastive analysis we have assumed the existence of a basic system of modality common to both languages which can be realized in a variety of ways in either language. What is meant by common basic system in this study is the types of semantic relations realized by modal verbs, moods and other modal structures involving modal adjectives, adverbs, certain so-called 'pure' verbs which express various types and degrees of modality on the scale of probability, necessity / obligation, (cap)ability.

In addition to the basic concepts of possibility, probability, certainty, permission, obligation, (cap)apbility, potentiality, etc., at least three modal roles seem to be essential to this basic semantic system ; first, the source or origin of modality ; second, the goal or destination of modality and third, the experiencer of the modality expressed. This means that modal verbs, moods and other modal constructions express a certain predication of modality with respect to persons involved in the accompanying roles.

Modality is interpreted in terms of the *Attitude of the Speaker*. *Speaker* is defined : first, as the source of the speech act ; second, as the source and experiencer of the inference in utterances with epistemic modality, and the animate source of a certain degree of volition in sentences with performative deontic modality. In (cap)ability utterances the speaker may be the one who characterizes the subject of the modal predicate with respect to its (cap)-ability. Where modality is non-performative the speaker is the 'reporter' or 'questioner' of the (non) existence of modality for the actualization of the proposition.

Attitude is defined as a certain degree of *belief*, resulting in the speaker's assessment of probability and predictability of a certain state of affairs, or as the act of *volition, desire, intention* resulting in permission or obligation for someone to do something. The (cap)ability concept is interpreted as a *characterization* of the subject of the modal expression (which may correspond to reality or may be only a reflection of the speaker's judgement or estimation of the subject's (cap)ability).

In the case of reported acts of volition, permission, obligation, inference etc., the speaker's attitude may be one of identification or association with the modality expressed. In addition to belief, volition, desire, intention etc., *attitude* also includes other *psychological states, feelings* and *emotions* signalled by the modals such as : *surprise, perplexity, hesitancy, modesty, acknowledgement of inconvenience* caused, the *speaker's* favourable or unfavourable *alignment* towards the speech act involved, true or conventional *politeness* etc.

It can be demonstrated that the basic semantic concepts postulated by Horn (1972) for the modal system of English also define the modal system of Romanian : the basic modal concepts fall into scalar classes : on the logical / epistemic scale modalities range between *possibility* and *certainty* with *probability* as an intermediate value, while on the deontic or root scale they range from permission to strong obligation with weak obligation as an intermediate value ; the epistemic modalities are related to one another in the same way as the root modalities are ; for example probability is to possibility as weak obligation is to permission : for something to be probable implies at least that it is possible, for something to be (weakly) obligated implies at least that it is permitted.

Our study has also confirmed the hypothesis that a modal system exhibits systematic relationship between the same semantic concepts ; both in English and Romanian modal items with, for example, a possibility interpretation are identical with a permission interpretation. More specifically, the semantic values of both English and Romanian modal verbs are systematically ambiguous between logical / epistemic and deontic (root) modalities ; for example '*may*', '*can*', in English and '*a putea*' in Romanian indicate both possibility and permission, '*should*', and'*ar trebui*' both probability and weak obligation, '*must*' and '*trebuie*' both (virtual) certainly and strong obligation. To make things even more complicated some of the modals (i.e. *can, may, a putea*) also participate in another paradigm, occurring with meanings involving power ((cap)-ability, potentiality). We would like to point out, however, that the ambiguity of the modals is only potential : in actual use the ambiguity is generally removed by linguistic and extralinguistic contextual factors ; the rare cases of ambiguity are apparently due to a certain overlap in contextual features.

Modality is undoubtedly also a matter of degree : logical / epistemic values can range from very slight possibility to absolute certainly while deontic modalities can be anything from permission to compulsion. This clearly suggests the difficulty of setting up really accurate modal hierarchies, except perhaps for the basic values. To set up adequate hierarchies for the modal verbs, which should correspond to their actual use in discourse is, in our opinion, an even harder, if not impossible, task.

Three aspects are noteworthy : *first*, the common semantic system taken as a basis for our analysis accounts only for the major meanings and functions of the modal expressions examined ; the variation in meaning and overtone, the degree of strength expressed by a modal, the relationship between the meanings of the modal expression and the kinds of speech acts that they can perform and other such aspects can only be determined in the real-world context of the utterance; *second*, that, from the contrastive point of view, there is no one-to-one correspondence between the surface realizations of modality in the two languages under scrutiny: where in a certain speech situation English uses a modal verb or phrase, Romanian may use a certain mood, a modal adjective or adverb etc. and vice versa. Also, when modal verbs are used in both languages, one Romanian modal may correspond to several English ones; for example, the meaning range of '*a putea*' covers most of the meanings of '*may*', '*might*', '*can*', '*could*'; similarly, the meaning scale of '*a trebui*' may correspond to the modal values expressed by '*must*', '*need*', '*should*', '*ought to*' and even by phrases such as '*have to*', '*have got to*', '*be to*', etc.

Third, it is extremely important for our discussion to distinguish between the meanings of the modals and the kinds of speech acts that they can participate in. Thus with the literal meanings (mentioned previously) they appear in what we shall refer to as ***direct speech acts***, namely statements, qustions, negations of possibility, probability, certainty, permission, obligation (cap)ability etc. In addition, particularly with their deontic meanings, modals often participate in what has come to be known as ***indirect speech acts***, whose illocutionary force differs from that of the direct act suggested by their surface structure (such indirect illocutions containing modals are: offers, invitations, requests, orders, suggestions, hints etc.).

Let us see what exactly is meant by *direct and indirect speech acts*.

In most circumstances the speaker has available to him a variety of direct, literal language devices to express what he means: he can use *declaratives* to assert or represent, *interrogatives* to ask questions, *imperatives* to order, command etc.; he can also promise, threaten, wish, appoint, christen, congratulate etc. and perform many other illocutionary acts directly.

This type of acts will be referred to as direct speech acts and can be illustrated as follows:

(1) He is bald at 20.
Este chel la 20 de ani. — statements

(2) I love you. Te iubesc.

(3) Would you like to smoke?
Vreți să fumați? — questions

(4) Pick up that cigarette butt, soldier!
Ridică mucul ăla de țigare, soldat! — orders

There are cases when the speaker uses less direct means to get across his communicative intentions, when he performs one illocationary act, indirectly, by way of performing another. For example, the speaker can use *declaratives* to request, to offer, to make ironic denials or understatements etc., e.g.

(5) It is stuffy in here !
E aer inchis aici ! request to open the window

(6) I can baby-sit for you this weekend if you wish.
Pot să stau eu cu copiii week-end-ul acesta dacă vrei. offer

(7) Jim must be very smart to sky-dive without a parachute.
Trebuie că Jim e tare deștept să sară din avion fără parașută.
= ironic denial

The speaker can use *interrogatives* to assert facts, make requests, give orders etc., e.g. :

(8) Can you believe that he is bald at twenty ?
Îți vine să crezi că e chel de 20 de ani ? statement

(9) Need
Must I say that I love you ? statement

E nevoie (cazul)
Trebuie să spun că te iubesc ?

(10) Would you mind smoking outside ?
Vreți (vă rog) să fumați afară ? request

(11) Can you see those cigarette butts, soldier ?
Vezi mucurile alea, soldat ? order

The speaker can also use *imperatives* to make requests or ask questions :

(12) Let / allow me to ask you not to tell my wife.
Dați-mi voie să vă rog să nu mă spuneți soției. request

(13) Let/allow me to ask you if those are real pearls. question
Dați-mi voie
Ingăduiți-mi
Permiteți-mi să vă întreb dacă sînt perle adevărate.

These sentences, which, if uttered in the appropriate conext, convey an intended meaning that does not coincide and often differs considerably from their literal meaning, illustrate an extensive phenomenon in the language which has been referred to as "indirect speech acts".

The source and nature of indirect illocutions has been a puzzling topic of much interest to linguistics and philosophers.

Notice that the discussion about indirect speech acts hinges critically on the distinction between literal and conveyed meaning and between meaning and use, distinctions which are not so clearcut as it might appear. Consider the following sentences :

	D.S.A.	I.S.A.
(14) Can you open the door for me ? Poţi să-mi deschizi uşa ?	question	request
(15) You ought to help her do the dishes. Ar trebui să o ajuţi la vase.	statement of oblig.	suggestion
(16) I want you to stay here until I come back. Breau să stai aici pină mă intorc.	statement of wish.	order

These sentences can be used in two ways : a) they can be uttered as direct speech acts, that is a simple question about the hearer's ability, a simple statement of the hearer's weak obligation or a simple statement of the speaker's wish, in which case they occur with their literal meanings ; b) these sentences can also be uttered as indirect speech acts, that is as a request, suggestion or order, respectively [1].

In the cases when such sentences are uttered as ISA they still have their literal meaning but something more is meant as well, which gives the conveyed meaning. What is added in indirect speech acts is, according to Searle, not any additional sentence meaning but additional *speaker meaning*. It appears, therefore, that the two readings of the above sentences, their literal and conveyed meanings are not an accident of surface structure but are systematically related.

What exactly is the mechanism for indirectness ? How can sentences which have one illocutionary force as part of their meaning be used to perform acts with a different illocutionary force ?

Each type of act has a set of conditions the satisfaction of which is necessary for the felicitous performance of the act. For example, in Searls's terms, the condition on directives (invitations, suggestions, hints, requests, orders, commands, etc.) are as follows :

— preparatory condition : *H*earer is able to perform *A* (act)

— propositional content
condition : *S*peaker predicates a future act *A* of *H* ;

— sincerity condition
(psychological state expressed) : S wants H to do A

— essential condition : counts as an attempt by S to get H
(illocutionary point) to do A.

From Searle's analysis it appears that a Speaker can make indirect requests or other directives, suggestions, orders etc. and indirect offers (or other commissives) by *asserting* or by *questioning* the satisfaction of the preparatory and the propositional content conditions (see ex.

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[1] In is often assumed that words such as *can, should, ought, to* etc. somehow have an imperative or 'action guiding' meaning ; this view derives from the fact that sentences such as the ones above can be used as *directives*, by way of telling the addressee to do something. It does not follow that because these sentences can occur as requests, suggestions, orders etc. *can* / *a putea, should* / *ar trebui, want* / *vrea* have an imperative meaning.

(17), (18), (19), (20), (21), (23)) as well as by asserting *but not by questioning the satisfaction of the sincerity condition* (see ex. (22), (24)).

(17) You can / could help her do the dishes
Poți / ai putea să o ajuți la vase.
suggestion

(18) Could you help me do the dishes ?
Poți / ai putea să mă ajuți la vase ?
request

(19) I can get you something to drink.
Pot să-ți dau ceva de băut.
offer

(20) Can I get you something to drink ?
Pot să-ți dau ceva de băut ?
offer

(21) I will (I am willing to) help you do the dishes.
Vreau (sînt dispus) să te ajut la vase.
offer

(22) Will I (am I willing to) help you do the dishes ?
Vreau (sînt dispus) să te ajut la vase ?
≠ offer

(23) I want you to help her do the dishes.
Vreau (ca tu) să o ajuți la vase.
order, request, suggestion

(24) Do I want you to help her do the dishes ?
Vreau (eu ca tu) să o ajuți la vase ?
≠ request, order, suggestion.

The explanation for the asymmetry between the sincerity conditions and the others seems to be that, in normal circumstances, it is odd to ask other people about the existence of *your own* elementary psychological states.

Searle argues that it is odd also to assert the existence of other people's psychological states when addressing them. We think however, that there are counterexamples to Searle's claim as, for example, the following :

(25 You { want / are willing (will) / are going } to marry her, don't try to { deny it / fool us }

{ Vrei / ești dispus / intenționezi / O / ai } să te căsătorești cu ea, nu încerca să negi, să ne proștești

Modals, both in English and Romanian occur in direct as well as indirect speech acts. According to Searle's taxonomy of speech acts, it seems that direct illocutions containing epistemic modals belong to the class of *representatives* : they express the speaker's belief that the proposition is possible, probable, virtually certain. Direct illocutions containing root modals in their non-performantive use as well as (cap)ability modals also belong to the category of representatives. They state, assert, report the existence of permission, obligation, (cap)ability for the proposition to be realized. When the root modals are used performatively the direct illocutions in which they appear belong to the class of *directives*, which are defined as attempts by the speaker to get the hearer to do something (by allowing, inviting, requesting, suggesting, ordering etc.) ; *commissives*, which indicate the speaker's commitment to do something (promising, threatening etc.) ; *expressives* (wishing, cursing, etc.).

Modals in both languages, we have seen, may be used performatively and non-performatively. Let us see what is meant by performative and non-performative modality. In some sentences with root (deontic) modals the speaker is associated with the origin or source of volition and the addressee with the goal or destination of volition ; in other words, the speaker is the permitter or the one who sets up the obligation while the adressee is the recipient of permission or obligation ; in these cases the modals are said to be used performatively :

(26) You may leave now, I no longer need you — I allow you to leave now.
Poţi pleca, nu mai am nevoie de tine.

(27) You must stay, I still need you. — I require you to stay.
Trebuie să rămîi, mai am nevoie de tine

In other sentences with deontic modals the source of permission or obligation is not the speaker but some other "authority" or an inanimate cause or circumstances. The speaker only reports the existence of the modality, so the modals do not have a performative function. But in such cases the speaker may (or may not) go along with the permission or obligation he is reporting :

(28) You may smoke, the hostess doesn't mind { and neither do I. / but I do. }

Poţi fuma, gazda nu are nimic impotrivă { şi nici eu. / dar eu da. }

(29) You can leave now (the door has been unlocked).
Poţi pleca acum (uşa a fost descuiată).

(30) You { must / have to } leave now (otherwise you'll miss the plane).

Trebuie să pleci (altfel pierzi avionul).

In sentences with epistemic modals it is always the speaker who makes and experiences the inference :

(31) He { may / must / will } be in his office. — I infer that he is in this office

{ trebuie / poate } să fie in birou
o / va fi in birou

Modals, both English and Romanian, are very common in indirect speech acts. At this point I would like to distinguish, from the surface point of view, between two kinds of indirect speech acts containing modals : first, those whose surface structure contains a modal but no explicit performative for the conveyed meaning and is identical in form with the surface structure of the direct act with the literal meaning. In other words, one surface structure can serve both as a direct and as an indirect act, with different illocutionary forces. These seem to be the polite conventional forms specialized in issuing mostly indirect *directives* (orders, demands, requests, suggestions, hints, warnings etc.), *commissives* (offers, promises) and *wishes*. The following sentences belong to this type :

(32) *Could* you move over (please) ?
Puteţi să vă mutaţi cu un scaun (vă rog) ? request

(33) Will you turn the light off (please) ?
Vrei să stingi lumina (te rog) ? request

(34) Will you have some more coffee ?
Mai vrei puţină cafea ? offer

(35) May you be happy !
Să fiţi fericiţi ! wish

(36) Shouldn't you help the ladies first ?
N-ar trebui să le serveşti pe doamne mai întîi ? suggestion

Second, indirect speech acts whose surface structure contains an explicit performative embedded in a modal[2] and a complement or infinitival clause which corresponds to the surface structure of the corresponding direct speech act with the same illocutionary force.

In other words, two different surface structures are used with *approximately* the same reading. Indirect acts of this type are often referred to as *hedged performatives* (term due to B. Fraser, 1973) and can be used for most types of speech acts (statements, questions, requests, offers, promises, warnings etc.) except for those which require the authority of an extralinguistic institution (marrying, condemning, pardoning, etc.). The following sentences illustrate this type of indirect illocutions :

(37) May I inform you that your beloved son is in jail ?
Pot să te informez că fiul tău iubit e la închisoare ? statement

(38) May I ask you how much money you make ?
Pot să te întreb cît cîştigi ? question

(39) May I ask you to remove your hat ?
Pot să vă rog să vă scoateţi pălăria ? request

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[2] Besides modals, certain emotional state adjectives and verbs occur frequently with embedded performatives, a sampling of which includes : I am happy / glad / pleased / delighted to, (sînt fericit / bucuros să) ; I'm sad / sorry / distressed to, (îmi pare rău, regret că) etc. For details see Thomson, H. and Wright, G. (1975).

(40) I must deny your access to these tapes. refusal
Trebuie să vă refuz accesul la aceste benzi.

(41) I must request that you to leave at once. request
Trebuie să te rog să pleci imediat.

(42) I will now admit that you are right. statement
O / am să recunosc că ai dreptate.

(43) I'll (will) ask you to help me with my luggage. request
O / am să te rog să mă ajuţi la bagaje.

(44) I would suggest that you take a stiff drink of whisky. suggestion
Aş sugera să iei o înghiţitură (să tragi o duşcă bună) de whisky.

(45) I would define this as outrageous. statement
Aş califica asta (drept) scandalos.

(46) *
$$\left(\begin{array}{l}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{May/can I}\\ \text{I must}\\ \text{Let me}\end{array}\right\}\begin{array}{l}\text{sentence you to five years in jail ?}\\ \text{pronounce you man and wife ?}\end{array}\\ \\ \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Trebuie}\\ \text{Pot}\\ \text{Dă-mi voie}\end{array}\right\}\begin{array}{l}\text{să vă declar căsătoriţi ?}\\ \text{să te condamn la cinci ani închisoare (?)}\end{array}\end{array}\right.$$

Notice that this second type of indirect illocutions may have a declarative, a question or an imperative form. The question that might be raised is whether there is any relationship between the surface structure and the actual illocutionary force of this type of modal indirect acts. Davison (1973) claims that the surface syntactic structure does seem to reflect some real variable : the declarative form would indicate in a more neutral way the speaker's hesitancy, the question form is clearly humbler and more apologetic than the others, while the imperative more peremptory ; unlike the declarative, both the question and the imperative have the effect of asking permission.

It should be pointed out also that what modal and what performative verb is used is important : not every modal can be used in each of the three surface forms (declaratives, questions, imperatives) and also not every modal co-occurs equally well with each performative verb, which seems to be related to the speaker's alignment[3].

For example *may* and *can* are very common in questions but less frequent (especially *may*) in declaratives ; *a putea*, which corresponds to both in Romanian, seems to occur more easily in declaratives (the context is, of course, a major factor in both languages), e. g.

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* = ungrammatical

[3] We note that for the performative embedding modals *must*, *have to*, *trebuie* the lack of voluntariness they convey implies the speaker's negative, unfavourable alignment towords his performance of that act ; while the voluntariness associated with *can (may)*, *be able*, *a putea*, implies a positive, favorable alignment. For the notion *speaker alignment see* Thomson, H. and Wright, J. (1975).

(47) May/can I tell you that you are a liar ?
Pot să-ți spun că ești un mincinos ?

(48) ? I may/can tell you that you are a liar.
Pot să-ți spun că ești un mincinos.

Also, contrastively, it appears that certain forms which have become conventionally established as standard idiomatic forms for indirect speech acts in one language may not maintain their indirect act potential when translated into the other language. A good example is '*would/do you mind*' — to which the forms *vă rog să* ..., *fiți amabil să* ... (etc.) are more frequent equivalents in Romanian rather than *v-ar deranja/vă deranjează dacă* ... etc

Another interesting feature is that the modals occurring in the declarative forms are generally destressed (and often reduced) as in :

(49) I must say that S
[mst]
Tre să spun că ...

(48) I can tell you that S
[kn]
Po să-ți spun că ...

(50) I'll acknowledge that you are a better liar than I thought.
O să recunosc că ...

The meaning and function of indirect speech acts.

Since indirect speech acts have a high frequency and regularity in the language, one may rightfully wonder why people use them instead of the corresponding direct ones.

Politeness, real or conventional, is often described as the chief motivation for 'indirectness'. Several linguists, Heringer, R. Lakoff, Fillmore among them, think that the function of indirect speech acts is to express primarily conventional politeness ; R. Lakoff (1973), for example, analyses them in terms of rules of politeness, based on Gricean conversational maxims (1974). Searle offers as part of the explanation the idiomatic nature of such acts.

Politeness, true or conventional, does indeed enter into the assumptions that some indirect speech acts have associated with them. For instance, the following sentences are instances of idiomatic, conventinally polite requests, offers, invitations :

(51) Can/could you get me a glass of water ?
Poți/ai putea să-mi dai un pahar cu apă ? requests

(52) May/can I offer you something to drink ?
Pot să-ți ofer ceva de băut ? offers

(53) You must come and see my new apartment ?
Trebuie să vii să-mi vezi noul apartament ? invitations

Linguistic reality shows, however, that many instances of indirect speech acts are not meant to be polite at all : impolite statements are often expressed politely as a form of sarcasm or formal irony; these are regarded as cases of pretended politeness, e. g.

(54) May I say that you gave a terrific performance to-night, everybody left during the intermission.

Pot îmi dai voie să-ți spun că ai jucat grozav în seara asta; toată lumea a plecat la pauză.

(55) I must inform you that your beloved fiancé just married your best friend Alice.

Trebuie să te informez că iubitul tău logodnic s-a însurat azi cu buna ta prietenă Alice.

Moreover, many such indirect illocutions are not merely sarcastic or ironic; they can be used to make rude remarks or to express anger, malice, etc., as for example in:

(56) May / can I say that you look ghastly in that dress?
Pot / îmi dai voie să-ți spun că arăți groaznic în rochia asta?

(57) I must ask you how much money you make from cheating at cards.

Trebuie să te întreb cît cîștigi trișînd la cărți.

Compare also the following indirect statements, questions and requests containing modals with the corresponding direct acts:

(58)
a) Your son died in an accident an hour ago.
b) I must / May I / Allow me to / let me — tell you that your son died in an accident an hour ago (?).
a') Fiul dumneavoastră a murit într-un accident acum o oră.
b') Trebuie / Pot / îmi permiteți / Permiteți-i / dați-mi voie — să vă spun că fiul dvs. a murit într-un accident acum o oră (?).

(59)
a) Your fly is open.
b) I must / May I / Let me — tell you that your fly is open (?).
a') Ești deschis la pantaloni.
b') Trebuie / Poți / îmi dai voie / Dă-mi voie — să-ți spun că ești deschis la pantaloni.

$$\text{(60)}\quad\left\{\begin{array}{ll} \text{a)} & \text{Hand in your resignation.}\\ \text{b)} & \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{I must}\\ \text{May I}\\ \text{Let me}\end{array}\right\}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{suggest that you}\\ \text{ask you to}\end{array}\right\}\text{hand in your resignation (?)}\\ \text{a')} & \text{Dați-vă demisia}\\ \text{b')} & \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Trebuie}\\ \text{Pot îmi permiteți}\\ \text{Permiteți-mi}\end{array}\right\}\begin{array}{l}\text{să vă rog / sugerez să vă dați}\\ \text{demisia (?)}\end{array} \end{array}\right.$$

Sentences like the ones above are associated most of the time with bad news, unpleasant or unflattering remarks, unfavourable opinions, intrusive questions, things which might be painful or embarrasing to the hearer and/or which could be of great importance and emotional value to the hearer and speaker; (notice that the direct form could but need not necessarily have the same value). There are contexts, therefore, which demand an indirect speech act as an acknowledgement of hesitancy or intrusion. When the direct speech act could be construed as impertinent, imposing, intruding etc. one may resort to the indirect variant to avoid being charged with grossness or held responsible for the direct speech act; to soften the bluntness or possible unfriendliness of a direct act; when the speaker feels that he is not entitled to talk about the subject or does not have the right to give orders or make requests etc. Notice that the hesitancy or intrusion signalled by the form of the speech act is often overridden by some other emotional factor: the speaker's anger, annoyance, joy, or the importance to the hearer and/or the speaker of that topic. There are also cases when the indirect modal illocutions are associated with positive emotional attitudes of the speaker, who is therefore favourably aligned towards his performance of that act.

To sum up, we have tried to show that the special meaning of indirect modal illocutions as a whole is rather complex and hard to define in a simple way (especially as they do not form a uniform class). The politeness dimension is, we have seen, only a partial account of indirect speech acts. Such acts express, in general, psychological states, positive or negative emotional attitudes towards the speech act performed, which can only be adequately evaluated in the speech situation. In the contexts where the direct act would cause some sort of inconvenience to the addresse, the indirect act expresses the speaker's hesitancy or acknowledgement of intrusion, in other words, his unafavourable alignement towards his performance of that act.

In other contexts, the indirect act may indicate positive emotional attitudes on the part of the speaker towards some act or event, which aligns the speaker favourably towards his performance of that act. In still other contexts the indirect illocutions indicate nothing more than conventional politeness. The idiomatic nature of many indirect speech acts, particularly directives and commissives, should also be taken into consideration.

This has not been an exhaustive examination of the topic discussed. Our study has only raised some of the problems related to modality and speech acts, suggesting some possible answers. Further investigation is, of course, necessary.

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PERFORMATORY CATEGORIES IN CONTRASTIVE INTONATION ANALYSIS

DAFYDD GIBBON

What I have to report here is, essentially, a revised version of some of the work done for my doctoral dissertation (Gibbon, 1975). The term 'contrastive analysis' is for present purposes used as a methodological term derived from within linguistic analysis itself, rather than as a derived or 'applied' term associated with additional non-linguistic (e.g. psychological) categories of performance system. The term 'performatory' is that of Austin (who later used the term 'performative' for the same purpose) ; it should not be confused with the neo-Praguean term 'performace', but taken as the generic category covering Austin's two specific categories for the classification of utterance types, 'illocutionary' and 'perlocutionary'. The precise senses intended will be developed in the later sections of this report.

One of the most persistently awkward questions in linguistics, and all the more so in contrastive linguistics, however, is the question of what 'intonation' means. In this connexion — since 'intonation' is a technical term, and not to be understood outside of a particular method of analysis or theory of description — it is useful to recall what Jassem, in his excellent survey twenty-three years ago, had to say about some of the difficulties involved (1952 : 22) ; he states that the main prejudices to beware of

> will probably be (1) paralleling intonation patterns in the language under investigation with native intonation patterns, as the result of acquired speech habits, (2) a preconceived relation between intonation patterns and morphological or syntactal constructions such as words and sentences, (3) perception of intonation in units other than tone-segments, (4) preconception as to the value of tonal patterns following from general linguistic theory, which is liable to overrate similar tendencies in different languages, make rash and sweeping decisions often by *a priori* reasoning, and look for examples to suit those decisions.

It is the fourth of these prejudices, in the specific form of the hypothesis that intonations are to be counted among the 'illocutionary force indicating devices', which will be examined here, for German and English.

Before going on to the notoriously difficult problem of intonation meaning or role, I want to safeguard the analysis by outlining the main theoretical difficulties involved and, as the first analytic steps, to give phonetic and syntactical accounts of the selected intonation patterns, the so-called 'call contours', which will be investigated.

With reference to the criteria of analysis used in the analysis of intonation, the problems can be sketched as follows. In the area of type criteria (i.e. criteria affecting phonetic — physical and perceptual — aspects of the utterance), the main difficulties are associated with the choice of primitive descriptive categories, the question of (syntagmatically or paradigmatically) relative or constant pitch (Crystal, 1971 ; Gibbon, 1975), and related problems such as that of segmentation. In the area of role criteria (i.e. affecting non-phonetic structural or functional aspects of the utterance), a distinction between paradigmatic and syntagmatic role criteria can be made : paradigmatic role criteria establish equivalence classes of intonations (e.g. accent placement decision, or tone-group boundary placement decision involving non-phonetic criteria, the standard example here being the polysemous fall-rise patterns of English), while syntagmatic role criteria are based on the relation of intonation patterns of given types to various sorts of contexts of use, using categories restricted (in order to remain linguistic) to the description of sorts of dialogue and their structuring. Further, there is the problem of descriptive norms, both of type role, from both paradigmatic and syntagmatic points of view in each case.

These difficulties are mangified greatly in contrastive intonation analyses ; nevertheless, if one is to be sure that one is working with non-arbitrary, non-*ad-hoc* categories, attempts have to be made to describe more than one language within the same explicit overall (i.e. metatheoretical) framework. This is, perhaps, the main lesson to be learned by practical folk from generative analyses.

The area where most work has been done at an explicit level within the field of intonation is that of phonetic types : physical and perceptual levels of analysis have been distinguished and interrelated in subtle ways by many workers (reviewed esp. Crystal, 1969 ; Lehiste, 1970 ; Léon, 1972), leading to descriptions using the physical analytic categories of Frequency, Intensity, &c., and related perceptual (or psychological) categories of Pitch, Loudness, &c. In fact, the clarity of research results here exceeds in many respects that of results in other areas of phonetics and phonology (cf. Ladefoged, 1967, for illustration). But 'intonation', in distinction to 'pitch' or 'intensity' is not definable in terms of physical or perceptual types alone ; like other structural or formal categories of language analysis (e.g. 'phoneme', 'formative', 'sentence' &c.), intonation requires the application of non-phonetic criteria of analysis, either paradigmatic (analogous to the criteria leading to the establishment of phrase structure or transformational equivalence classes), or syntagmatic (using relations like Subject-Object, Theme-Rheme, Focus-Presupposition, Question-Answer, &c.). In the case of intonation, we must, for an adequate characterisation, have

(1) explicit functional categories (role categories) ;

(2) explicit formulations of the sorts of type-role relations involved (in terms such as 'symbolic' ('arbitrary'), or 'iconic', 'indexical' (various kinds of natural relation ; cf. Huttar, 1968 ; Gibbon, 1975) ;

(3) explicit functional delimitations of the term 'intonation' as opposed to, say, 'accent', 'paralinguistic systems', 'kinesic system', or 'lexicosyntactic system' (cf. esp. Crystal, 1969).

But the fact is, that despite the enormous progress in the area of phonetic types, the progress in the area of intonation itself, where roles have to be involved, has been rather halting. Even at a short distance, in terms of abstraction, away from type description, the difficulties are considerable : contrary to the optimism of Stockwell (1972), the problem of how to sort out the bewildering variety of transcriptions for intonation forms is by no means finally solved, though neo-Praguean feature analysis is promising. The two obvious requirements for such a transcription are

(1) that it be explicitly formulatable and amenable to exact phonetic interpretation (so that one knows exactly what is the item under discussion) ;

(2) that it be suitable for incorporation into a well-defined system of description suitable for the analysis of more than one language (much in the sense of Chomsky, Halle & Lukoff, 1956).

Put into the more general framework of lingusitic explanation, a process of explication of some given notion of intonation must be followed, in which the clearest possible evidence in the clearest possible formulation is used as the starting point (cf. Carnap, 1950 : 3 ff. ; Chomsky, 1957 : 13 f.).

One transcription system which satisfies the requirements of appropriateness to the clear phonetic evidence and of suitability for application in structural descriptions is neo-Praguean specified feature notation, which represents a phonetic variable (dimension) such as Pitch Height, and a specification of a variant at a certain position along this dimension, by means of the sign '+', '—', or a natural integer (cf. Chomsky & Halle, 1968 : 390 ff.). In the following examples of call contours, I wish to illustrate the possibility of applying this notation to the description of a more subtle kind of feature, i.e. a specified trajectory through a phonetic variable in time (for 'trajectory' in this sense, see Cherry, 1957 (1966 : 96)) as a feature, rather than simply static variants along the feature dimension.

The contours in question are phonetically rather easily characterisable, and can initially be given in a simple tonetic transcription, both for English and German :

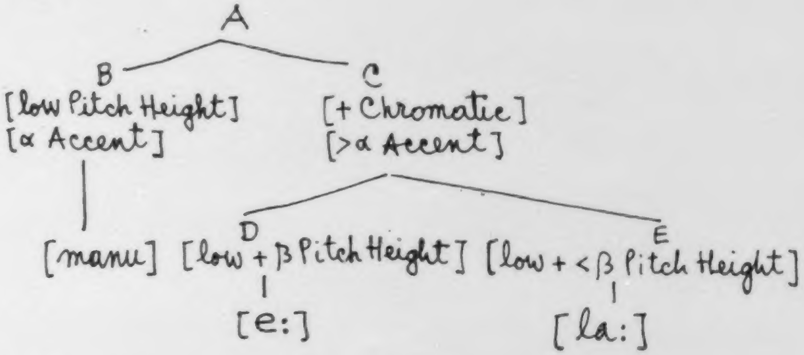
(1) ¯John-ny ¯Essen -fertig

(2) Manu¯e-la ¯Dinner's -ready

Since the contours are to be characterised initially in terms of phonetic types, I shall postpone using the functional designation 'call contour', preferring the term 'chromatic' to characterise the contour on the basis of its 'sung' quality ; it is possible to give a detailed phonetic motivation and a special transcription model for the Chromatic, which I propose to do elsewhere (for an indication of the possibilities, cf. Bachem, 1950).

The structure of chromatic contours has received extensive, though inconclusive discussion by many scholars (cf. Pike, 1945 ; Abe, 1962 ; Fox, 1969, 1970 ; Crystal, 1969 a ; Lewis, 1970). I shall begin this aspect of the description by extracting the minimum of organisation which is identifiable by means of relatively unadulterated type criteria, without making any attempt to interpret the structural categories involved in terms such as 'head', 'body', 'nucleus', 'tail', or 'thematic accent', 'rhematic accent', 'contour point', &c. This minimum of organisation (for which I have provided more detailed motivation in Gibbon, 1975) is represented in example (3). The structure proposed brings a number of theoretical problems with

(3)



it, such as problems of node-to-node feature transfer, and the mapping on to segmental feature complexes of different syllabic lengths, but these are soluble. The relational character of the features is seen firstly in the postulation of higer-node features (as in Weinreich's semantics, 1972 : e.g. 73 ff. ; cf. also Brend, 1970), and secondly in the use of the arithmetical precedence relation rather than by natural numbers in the specifications of certain key features (whereby the status of 'low +' can be ignored for present purposes, since it is part of a more general problem of the specification of pitch constants which is not of immediate concern here ; cf. Crystal, 1971). The use of higher-node features makes it possible to specify in a non- *ad hoc* manner properties of the whole utterance, such as the laxing and intonational drift which is frequently to be observed particularly towards the end of contours, as in the following contours, paradigmatically related in this way to chromatic contours :

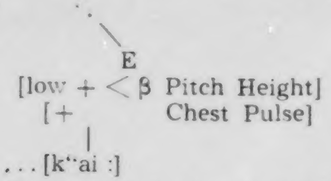
(4) ˉJohn-ny
(5) ˉJohn-ny

and similarly in the marked alternative of contour-final intensification by means of a diaphragm pulse, as in Arthur Askey's time-honoured call :

(6) Wakey ¯Wa . - . key

in which the pulse is ultimately mapped on to the final syllable :

(7)



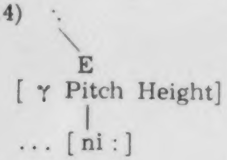
At his stage it is already possible to give a precise characterisation of a conspicuous difference between English and German chromatic intonation in terms of the structure of the contour ; cf. the following examples, of which the English examples are frequently documented in the literature (e.g. Abe, 1962), and the German examples, though not documented in the literature on German intonation, have been noted on many occasions by myself, and (for constructed starred items, in particular) checked with a wide range of German native speakers :

(8) ¯John-ny (9) -John¯ny (10) -John-ny

(11) Manu¯e-la (12) *Manu-e¯la (13) Manu-e-la

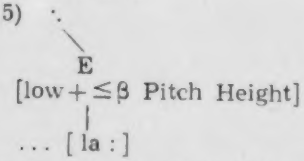
Generalised structural descriptions for the two languages (representing these possibilities can be given as follows ; for English :

(14)



and for German :

(15)



Having provided an indication of a possible model for the syntactics of this intonation pattern in English and German — so far on the basis of categories which are essentially phonetic in character (and in this respect, the pattern under consideration is probably unique in its analysability) — I shall go on to consider what the role criteria of analysis contribute to a full specification of the pattern, ignoring the distinction in English between falling and rising varieties (but cf. Abe, 1962 for discussion).

First of all, using paradigmatic role criteria to set up equivalence classes of intonations, one can interpret the letters used to name the nodes in examples (3), (7), (14), (15) in terms of the standard descriptions of English intonation (e.g. Pike, Palmer, Kingdon, Halliday, Crystal, & C. ; though not Trager & Smith, who do not treat syntagmatic problems). On the paradigmatic criterion based on tonicity (Halliday's term for the placement of nuclear accent), an equivalence class such as the following may be set up :

(16) *Tonicity-preserving equivalence class :*
-John¯ny
Johnny
Johnny
¯John-ny

It should be clear that such equivalence classes must involve non-phonetic criteria (in this case, lexical information about the segmental phonology of English proper names), and cannot be set up *only* on the basis of phonetic criteria. A similar example for German could be given as follows :

(16) *Tonicity-preserving equivalence class :*
Manu¯e-la
Manu ela
Manu ela

The German class is, for reasons already outlined, smaller than the English class with respect to chromatic contours.

Using syntagmatic role criteria, however, we have to go beyond lexico-syntactic criteria, and in doing so we come across a number of extremely interesting possibilities for providing an explication of the old notion (cf. Pike, 1945) that intonations reflect the ***speaker's attitude,*** i.e., their roles are describable in terms of pragmatic categories covering the speaker's relation to his utterance. An interesting formulation of this notion, which goes much further back even than Pierce's type-token- tone distinction, is given by Wang (1971 : 274) ; he states that

> ... intonation provides the speaker with another channel of communication by means of which he can express a more personal commentary on the sentence he is producing.

The trouble is that, despite interesting psycholinguistically motivatable approaches (e.g. Uldall, 1960, 1961 ; Crystal : 1969 : 294ff. ; Coates, 1975), nobody really knows precisely what is meant in any given case by the term 'speaker's attitude', and consequently the semantic status of the term approaches that of terms like 'dignity', or 'national character', which people quite rightly get embarrassed about.

One way of characterising the role of chromatic contours, which falls roughly under the scope of the term 'speaker's attitude', is to refer to them by means of the received terms 'calling intonations', 'call contours', &c, 'Calling', or 'call', is clearly a pragmatic category for an utterance type (cf. similar cases such as 'question', 'enquiry', 'reply') of a very specific kind of 'attitude' which is constituted by a more or less complex dialogue relation between speaker and hearer. But, taking the notion of utterance type in this sense to specify at least a small fragment of what is meant by the vague term 'speaker's attitude', one can then ask what exaclty is an utterance type, and what categories can usefully be used to specify it ?

An excellent approach to explicating a number of aspects of the notíon of utterance type is given within the philosophy of ordinary language by Austin's notions of illocutionary and perlocutionary acts ; this can be formulated in linguistically more appropriate terms as illocutionary and perlocutionary levels of analysis for utterances. Since the terms are more or less intuitively known these days in linguistic circles, they can be left in the air for a moment, for reasons which will become clear immediately. Intonations, in particular, have frequently been said to be 'illocutionary force indicating devices' (Austin, 1962 ; Searle, 1969 ; Yorio, 1973). And, to be more specific, calling would appear to be one of the likely candidates to put among the various kinds of illocutionary forces, with chromatic contours as particularly clear candidates for the status of illocutionary force indicating device. An examination of this question would thus offer a unique opportunity within the field of intonation analysis for finding out whether the notion of illocutionary force is a suitable explication for the kind of thing which intonations mean.

But before going into details, I should like to present a few more examples of the ways in which chromatic contours are used in German. All of these examples I have observed myself, at various times ; since the situations are not terribly common, it is difficult to obtain authentic, non-elicited tape-recordings, unfortunately. However, the phonetic character of the utterances is, as already sketched, very clear, and in any case any tape recording would be devoid of the relevant situative information.

(18) a) ¯Schnei-der. . . . Achtund¯zwan-zig. . . ¯Bre-men (listener phoning radio 'can-I-help-you' programme, giving personalia)

b) Was¯macht er-denn (also : Was macht¯er-denn-cf. also Wie ¯der-sehn) (fond matron drooling over infant)

c) ¯Lau-ter (exhortation in the classroom to speak louder)

d) ¯Jo-hann hab ich gesagt (with the scope of category E right up to the end of the utterance ; conversation partner repeating misheard name)

e) ¯Auf-hörn (also iterated, even chanted : request to speaker or similar performer to shut up)

f) ¯Bit-te (said by shop-assistant as accompaniment to change-giving or handing over goods)

g) ¯Dan-ke (also frequently heard from shop-assistants)

All of these utterances are, in specifiable senses, formulaic ; the most general categorisation which fits most of them is their metalinguistic character, an aspect which comes out most clearly in example (18) d., where an explicit metalinguistic frame ("hab ich gesagt") is present. I find it convenient to refer to metalinguistic relations within the object language itself, as here, by means of the coinage "metalocutionary', in order to avoid confusion with stricter, more theoretical uses of the term 'metalinguistic'. These metalocutionary contexts should be intuitively clear enough (which is suffient for the moment) to be of use in the following enquiry into the possible status of chromatic contours as illocutionary force indicating devices.

What, then, is actually meant by 'illocutionary force'? The only precise formulation to date is that given by Searle (1969 ; for problems in Austin's formulation, cf. Strawson, 1964). Searle sets up the following kinds of condition, which will be quoted in full in the interests of precision in explication, which underlie rules for the succesful use of illocutionary force indicating devices, thus providing a detailed definition of the term 'illocutionary force' and its partner 'illocutionary force indicating device'. Using the act of promising as his example, and on the understanding that "each condition will be a necessary condition for the successful and non-defective performance of the act of promising, and taken collectively the set of conditions will be a sufficient condition for such a performance" (1969 : 54), Searle goes on (pp. 57ff.) :

> Given that a speaker *S* utters a sentence *T* in the presence of a hearer *H*, then, in the literal utterance of *T*, *S* sincerely and non-defectively promises that *p* to *H* if and only if the following conditions 1—9 obtain :
>
> (1) *Normal input and output conditions obtain.* I use the terms "input" and "output" to cover the large and indefinite range of conditions under which any kind of serious and literal linguistic communication is possible. "Output" covers the conditions for intelligible speaking and "input" covers the conditions of understanding. . . .
>
> (2) *S expresses the proposition that p in the utterance of T. . . .*
>
> (3) *In expressing that p, S predicates a future act A of S. . . .*
>
> (4) *H would prefer S's doing A to his not doing A, and S believes H would prefer his doing A to his not doing A. . . .*
>
> (5) *It is not obvious to both S and H that S will do A in the normal course of events. . . .*
>
> (6) *S intends to do A. . . .*
>
> (7) *S intends that the utterance of T will place him under an obligation to do A. . . .*
>
> (8) *S intends (i—l) to produce in H the knowledge (K) that the utterance of T is to count as placing S under an obligation to do A intends to produce K by means of the recognition of i—l, and he intends i—l to be recognized in virtue of (by means of) H's knowledge of the meaning of T.*
>
> (9) *The semantical rules of the dialect spoken by S and H are such that T is correctly and sincerely uttered if and only if conditions 1—8 obtain.*

The kinds of condition involved may be referred to as the 'input and output conditions' (i.e. (1), with (8) also contributing to what might be termed, following Austin's term 'securing of uptake' in this connexion, the 'uptake condition') ; the propositional content conditions (i.e. (2) and (3)) ; the preparatory conditions (i.e. (4) and (5)) ; the sincerity condition (i.e. (6)) ; the essential condition (i.e. (7)) : the uptake condition (i.e. (8) — not Searle's term) ; and the semantical condition (i.e. (9)). The condition which underlies the rule which actually *constitutes* the illocutionary act of promising is Condition (7), the essential condition.

On this model, one would expect to be able to define the essential characteristics of calling, if calling is an illocutionary act in this sense, in terms of Condition (7), and it the chromatic contour is an illoctionary force indicating device, then it should be possible to formulate a constitutive rule for calling, based on the essential condition for calling (cf. "The utterance of *Pr* [the illocutionary force indicating device for promising, in this case] counts as the undertaking of an obligation to do *A*." — p. 65, Rule 5). Note, in particular, that if it is not possible to formulate a rule for the use of call contours which has the status of rule 5, then either the claim that call contours are illocutionary force indicating devices is false, or the term 'illocutionary force' is being used in a different sense from that explicated by Searle, and consequently the onus of alternative explication lies on users of the term.

But, as is often the case with vague claims, as soon as this concrete task of rule construction is broached, the subtlety of the use of chromatic contours becomes clear. Right at the very beginning of the list of rules, stands the normality condition, Condition (1), which, as Searle points out, "[applies] generally to all kinds of normal illocutionary acts and [is] not peculiar to promising" p. 62). And what kind of situation is characteristic of chromatically intoned utterances ? Here we come into the problem of what is meant by 'normal', in the phrase 'normal input and output conditions', from which things like "physical impediments to communication, such as deafness, aphasia, or laryngitis" are excluded and, one might add, physical distance great enough to warrant the quasi-yodelling of chromatic contours. Since Searle states clearly that the input and output condition is to be taken as general, it cannot be relativised to particular uses of illocutionary force indicating devices, if the devices in question are to have this status. It would appear, therefore, that the very first prerequisite for considering chromatic contours to be illocutionary force indicating devices is absent. Even on a (non-Searlean) interpretation which relativised normality to situations (cf. Lakoff, 1971), the question would still have to be faced whether a constitutive rule for an illocutionary use of chromatic contours in such examples as those given above can be given. But I can summon somebody with a chromatic contour or in a whisper ; I can inform him that dinner is ready with a chromatic contour or a variety of other contours or a whisper ; and the same applies to the other examples. It would seem that what the roles of the chromatic contour have in common pertains indeed to the normality condition, Condition (1), rather than to the essential condition, Condition (7), and that the contours are, to put it bluntly, used for their carrying power, not illocutionary force.

I take this to be a falsification of the proposition that chromatic contours are illocutionary force indicating devices. Note, however, that nothing has been said about whether illocutionary force indicating devices are present or not (cf., for instance, proper names occurring in isolation or, in more inflecting languages than English or German, with a vocative inflexion), but only that the chromatic contours are not to be counted as such devices.

Now what about the additional uses of the German chromatic contour ? A close look at Searle's list of conditions shows that here, too, the categories involved are to be found in what I have termed the 'uptake condition', i.e. a set of subconditions pertaining to the 'securing of uptake' or 'understanding and acceptance' as a prerequisite to the success of the illocutionary act concerned, about which Searle himself is somewhat unsure (cf. p. 61, final paragraph). These metalocutionary uses have *as their aim*, and not simply as a prerequisite, the securing of uptake ; items are given, for instance, despite a situation in which carrying power is not required, with the chromatic contour as a sign that the speaker is interested in the clarity of perception and comprehension of what he is saying, and that the speaker considers that this clarity was not previously given. Of course this formulation does not apply as it stands to the transactional instances such as *Bitte*, or *Danke*, but it is a relatively simple matter to incorporate these instances, too, into a more general metalocutionary framework, as formulaic labels for partly verbal, partly non-verbally institutional transaction. For the other examples, the question of facing communication difficulties or abnormalities remains (think of the strange verbal behaviour of mature matrons when confronted by defenceless infants, e.g. example (18) b). I take this, too, to be a falsification of the claim that chromatic contours are used in such cases as illocutionary force indicating devices.

Searle's explication of the notion of illocutionary force thus turns out to have provided us with two very useful categories for describing and distinguishing the uses of English and German chromatic contours. Both in English and in German, the roles turn out to lean more towards the category of perlocution, i. e. achieving a particular *effect* in the hearer-speaker relationship, namely the establishmnet of "normal input and output conditions" for dialogue in a natural, physical way, by means of their carrying power. In German, unlike English, this role is generalised to the establishment of "normal input and output condition" on the more abstract, non-physical level of securing of uptake, or understanding and acceptance by the hearer, of the words themselves, by non-natural, symbolic means.

What Searle's explication of the notion of illocutionary force does *not* give us, however, is any evidence for supposing that chromatic contours in particular are illocutionary force indicating devices. They are, in the metalocutionary sense just sketched, more like devices for perlocutionary effects, and thus linked primarily with functions of language related to Bühler's *Ausdruck* and *Appell*, that is, to primarily non-symbolic (in the established semiotic sense which I referred to at the beginning of this report) functions.

But I have already mentioned that the call contours are perhaps the easiest of all intonation contours to identify and describe. The problem of maintaining the illocutionary force indicating hypothesis is consequently much greater in the case of, say, falling, rising, falling-rising, rising-falling, rising-falling-rising, etc., intonations which do not have the feature Chromatic, in view of their structural and formal polysemy, which I have discussed elsewhere (Gibbon, 1975 : esp. § 4.2.). No reason at all has yet been given to support the vague contention that intonation patterns have the status of illocutionary force indicating devices, for instance by replacing it with a more precise contention such as the one made above in connexion with chromatic contours, by proponents of the hypothesis. Even with echo questions — to quote the solitary intoned example adduced by Yorio (1973) in support of the hypothesis, and to forestall the most obvious potential counter example — the most that can be said is that the *pair*

(19) ⟨Intonation, Text⟩

in a specific context within dialogue is used for echo questions ; thus, this question (even if the functional term 'echo question intonation', which of course begs the question, can be correlated with specific phonetic types) is one of intonation placement, not one pertaining to intonation forms alone.

Finally, then, a summary, a question, and a challenge. It is possible to give a clear and explicit account, as has been demonstrated, of certain differences in type and in role between chromatic contours in English and German intonation. English has a generalisation on the type side (namely, rising chromatic intonations) which German does not have, and German has a generalisation on the role side which cannot be made for English. But is it possible to give specifically illocutionary categories for such a comparison ? The onus is on the proponents of this view : *hoc est explicandum*. I should be delighted to find a detailed explication which would prove me wrong — after all, the hypothesis is a rather attractive one.

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III.

SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS

'I DON'T HATE YOU, I LOVE YOU' : ADVERSATIVE CONJUNCTIONS IN A ROMANIAN-ENGLISH CONTRASTIVE GRAMMAR

MARIA MANOLIU MANEA

Unlike English, Romanian has three adversative conjunctions : CI, DAR, IAR. The difference between them has been described in terms of «intensity» : IAR expresses the weakest contrast (Niculescu, 1958, 1965), while CI denotes the strongest one (see Academia R.S. România I : 392—94 ; II : 250). We do not claim that this is not true ; we only notice that such a hypothesis does not work in a Contrastive Grammar, because it is not able to explain very well-known phenomena such as :

(i) Engl. BUT does not translate Rom. CI, nor IAR (except in a few cases when IAR may be replaced by DAR :[1]

Cf. (1) *Ion citește ziarul iar Maria cîntă la vioară* ;

(2) *John is reading the newspaper while (and) Mary is playing the violin ;*

(3) **John is reading the newspaper but Mary is playing the violin ;*

(4) *Nu te urăsc, ci te iubesc* ;

(5) *I do not hate you, I love you,* and not

(6) **I do not hate you, but I love you.*

(ii) Moreover, the «Intensity Hypothesis» cannot account for the restrictions which govern the distribution of adversative conjunctions in Romanian :

Cf. (7) **Nu te urăsc dar te iubesc* 'I don't hate you but I love you'

(8) *Nu te iubesc dar nici nu îmi ești indiferent* 'I don't love you but I am not indifferent'

(9) **Acesta este scaun dar carte* 'this is a chair but a book'

(10) *Ion este bun dar nervos* 'John is kind but nervous'.

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[1] In popular Romanian, IAR can occur in the contexts of DAR : *La soare te puteai uita, iar la dînsa ba,* Creangă 'one can lock at the sun but cannot look at her' : Academia R. S. România, I : 394. See the standard Rom. *la soare te puteai uita dar la dînsa, ba.*

(iii) Nor can The «Intensity Hypothesis» explain the differences between sentences such as :

(11) *Maria nu cîntă dar dansează* 'Mary does not sing but she dances' and

(12) *Maria nu cîntă, ci dansează* 'Mary does not sing, she dances'.

It is for this reason that we would like to advance a hypothesis in terms of Symbolic Logic.

1. DAR. Romanian *dar* corresponds to Engl. *but* in many ways :

(a) *Dar* expresses the operator ET (•) as in :

(11) *Maria nu cîntă dar dansează*, or in

(13) *Maria cîntă dar nu dansează* 'Mary sings but she does not dance' (for details see § 2).

(b) As Engl. *but, dar* expresses an implication, frequently a combination of implications with other operators (ET and the negation); in this case it might be replaced by *deși* 'although'. We do not intend to examine the meaning and the expressions of the 'conditionals' in Romanian, as it does not belong to the area of contrasts between English and Romanian. However, we would like to emphasize that the relations between 'DACĂ' 'IF' and DEȘI 'although' should not be limited to the implication $(p \rightarrow q)$, or to its negation. Let us consider the following sentences in order to bring out the differences under discussion :

(14) *Under normal conditions, if I love you, I don't leave (you) — În condiții normale, dacă te iubesc, nu plec (nu te părăsesc);*

(15) *I love you but I (must) leave, because I am poor and you are rich (and I am an honest man) — Te iubesc dar trebuie să plec, pentru că eu sînt sărac, iar tu ești bogată (și eu sînt onest);*

(16) *I don't love you but I shall not leave (I shall marry you, because I am poor and you are rich (and I am not an honest man);*

(17) *Under normal conditions, if I don't love you, I shall leave — în condiții normale, dacă nu te iubesc, plec.*

Let us write p for 'I love you',

q for 'I leave',
z : 'under normal conditions',
w : 'I am an honest man ...'
y : 'I am not an honest man ...'

If (14) could be related to the mere implication :

(i) $p \rightarrow \tilde{q}$,

its negation, that is $\sim(p \rightarrow \tilde{q}) = (p \cdot q)$, might explain the truth value of (15), but would not be able to account for other phenomena such as the following ones :

If (18) *Dacă plouă, străzile sînt ude* 'If it rains, the streets are wet' is perfect, (19) ? *Plouă, dar străzile nu sînt ude* 'it is raining but the streets are not wet' seems a bit strange (see Freudenthal, 1958), while both (20) *Dacă mănînci te îngrași* 'if you eat (so much) you will put on weight' and (21) *Deși mănînci mult nu te îngrași* 'although you eat so much, you do not put on weight' are correct. If an implication such as (iii) $p \rightarrow q$ or $p' \rightarrow q'$ (p' = 'you eat so much' and q' : you put on weight') could account for the relational meaning of DACĂ 'IF' in (18) and (20), the negation of (iii), i.e. $(p \cdot \tilde{q})$, could not explain the fact that (19) is anomalous, while (21) is perfect (it is true if one is hyperthyroidean). In any case, it is easy to notice that DACĂ — sentences assert a possibility, while DEȘI — sentences assert a reality. It is for this reason that we claim that in the logical structure of DEȘI — sentences one has to introduce, in addition to the implication, the conditions under which the negation of the second term of the implication leads to a true statement.

In (15) DACĂ states : "if $\tilde{q}$ is not true, it is not because p is not true, but because $(z \cdot \widetilde{w})$ is not true : there are not normal conditions for $\tilde{q}$, since I don't have a corresponding economic status to marry you. In fact (15) emphasizes that p 'I love you' is not a sufficient condition for the truth of q : 'I do not leave if I love you and I have a corresponding economic status to marry you'. In other words, the structure of (15) must rest upon an implication such as

$$\text{(iv)}\ (p \cdot (z \cdot \widetilde{w})) \rightarrow \tilde{q}$$

In the circumstances stated by (15), $\tilde{q}$ is false : 'I shall leave'. In order to maintain formula (iv) true, when its second term is false, the first one has to be false too. The truth value needed for the first term in (iv) is given — în this case — by the truth value of the expression $(z \cdot \widetilde{w})$, which is not true. Consequently, the conjunction $(p \cdot (z \cdot \widetilde{w}))$ is false. Thus we have the following situation : $(p \cdot (z \cdot \widetilde{w}))$ as well as $\tilde{q}$ are not true. It means that the implication (iv) is true as it is expressed by (15). This case of truth value of (iv) is equivalent to

$$\text{(v)}\ p \cdot (\sim(z \cdot \widetilde{w})) \cdot \sim\tilde{q} = \text{(va)}\ p \cdot z \cdot \widetilde{w} \cdot q$$

(va) corresponds to the surface structure of (15) : 'I love you (but) I must leave...'

Thus, in our hypothesis, DACĂ (DEȘI) sentences do not deny any implication ; they only assert that if the second term of the implication happens not to be true, it is because some of regular conditions under which this term is true are not satisfied. We may consider then that the implication expressed by the corresponding DACĂ — sentence becomes the presupposition of a DEȘI sentence. Actually, the negation of (iv) would be $(p \cdot z \cdot \widetilde{w} \cdot q)$, that does not correspond to the meaning of (15). The expression (va) is true as its terms are true : p 'I love you', q'I shall (must) leave', $\tilde{z}$ 'there are irregular circumstances' and w 'we have a different economic status'.

1.1. This hypothesis is able to account for the anomaly of (19) in the following terms :

Let us write p for 'it rains', q for 'the streets are wet,' z for 'normal circumstances' and n for 'other circumstances'. Then, the logical structure of (18) is :

(vi) $p \rightarrow q$

The logical structure of (19) would rest on the implication

(vii) $(p \cdot (z \cdot \tilde{n})) \rightarrow q$, where q is false and $(z \cdot \tilde{n})$

is false too. In that case, the structure of (19) is equivalent with

(viia) $p \cdot \sim(z \cdot \tilde{n}) \cdot \tilde{q} =$ (viib) $p \cdot \tilde{z} \cdot n \cdot \tilde{q}$

But n is an error, as there are not conditions in which the streets are dry when it rains ; consequently, the entire conjunction (viib) is an error : that is why (19) seems to be anomalous. In fact it violates the conditions of the Speech Acts (vezi Searle, 1969).

1.2. The relationship between (16) and (17) might be described in the same terms as the relationship between (15) and (14). The logical structure of (17) is :

(viii) $\tilde{p} \rightarrow q$

but (16) is based upon a more complex implication, namely :

(viiia) $(\tilde{p} \cdot (z \cdot \tilde{y})) \rightarrow q$,

where q and $(z \cdot \tilde{y})$ are false. Thus the structure of (16) is a derivation from :

(ix) $\tilde{p} \cdot \sim(z \cdot \tilde{y}) \cdot \tilde{q} =$ (ixa) $\tilde{p} \cdot \tilde{z} \cdot y \cdot \tilde{q}$

The conjunction (ixa) is true as its terms are true : p 'I do not love you', $\tilde{q}$ 'I shall not leave', $\tilde{z}$ 'there are not normal circumstances', y'I am not an honest man and I shall marry you, although we have a different economic status'.

One might notice that the implication (i) $p \rightarrow \tilde{q}$ is not denied by (viii), nor by (viiia), as the truth value of this implication is : in (viii), p is false and $\tilde{q}$ is false, i.e. the implication (i) is true ; in (viia), p as well as q are not true. That is why we claim that the implication (i) is the presupposition of all these sentences (15, 16 and 17).

1.3. The sentence (6) *I don't hate you but I love you* rests upon a false presupposition, namely on the implication 'if I don't hate you, then I do not love you' that is, in logical terms, (x) $\tilde{p} \rightarrow \tilde{q}$, where p is 'I hate you' and q 'I love you'. Thus the logical structure of (6) corresponds to the expression

$$\text{(xi) } \tilde{p} \cdot \sim(z \cdot \tilde{n}) \cdot \sim\tilde{q} = \text{(xia) } \tilde{p} \cdot \tilde{z} \cdot n \cdot q$$

where z is 'under normal circumstances' and n : 'other circumstances'. But there are not conditions such as z, in which the implication (x) might be true : one who does not hate might love or might be indifferent. Thus in (xi), z is an error (as it is never true) and n is false. In (xia) $\tilde{z}$ is true (the negation of an error is a truth), but n is true (there are such conditions in which someone does not hate and does not love). As we have already seen, DACĂ sentences request that the variables corresponding to the conditions responsible for the truth value of the second term of the implication are contradictory : when z is true, n has to be false and viceversa. In (xi) z and n are both false. It means that (6) violates the rule that governs the relation between the variables in the first term of the implication under discussion.

1.4. How can one explain the fact that DAR does never connect two nouns ?

Cf. (22) **Acesta este un scaun dar carte* 'this is a chair but a book' ;

(23) *Acesta este scaun dar carte nu-i* 'this is a chair but it is not a book'

(24) *Ion este bun dar nervos* 'John is kind-hearted but nervous' ;

(25) *Ion nu este generos dar este calm* 'John is not kind-hearted but he is quiet'.

What does (24) mean ? Let us write p for 'John is kind...' q for 'John is quiet', m for 'under normal circumstances' and n for 'special cases'. In fact, (24) rests upon the implication p → q, i.e. 'under normal circumstances, a kind-hearted man is not nervous'. Thus the structure of (24) may be written as

$$\text{(xii) } p \cdot \sim(m \cdot \tilde{n}) \cdot \tilde{q} = p \cdot \tilde{m} \cdot n \cdot \tilde{q}$$

which corresponds to the surface structure of (24). (xii) is true since every term of the conjunction is true : p 'John is kind...' $\tilde{q}$ 'John is nervous', $\tilde{m}$ 'there are not normal circumstances', n 'John is a special kind of man'. That is why (24) is perfect. But what could (22) mean ? It is based upon the implication 'if an object x is a chair, then it is not a book', which seems to be always true. Let us write p for 'it is a chair', q for 'it is a book', m for 'normal circumstances' and n for 'other circumstances'. Then, the logical structure corresponding to (22) may be written as :

$$\text{(xiii) } p \cdot \sim(m \cdot \tilde{n}) \cdot \sim\tilde{q} = \text{(xiiia) } p \cdot \tilde{m} \cdot n \cdot q$$

and its corresponding implication as

$$\text{(xiv) } p \to \tilde{q}$$

But n is never true, as in our world an object x cannot be simultaneously a chair (p) and a book (q). It means that the entire conjunction (xiiia) is false. Moreover, (xiiia) violates the rule that governs the relations between m and n : in this case, m and n are both false.

DAR generally cannot connect two nouns just because of the relation which links two objects in our world, relation which is stated by (xiv).

What does (23) mean ? It could be a reply to an assertion such as (25a) 'This is a chair and a book' — 'This is a chair, for sure, but it is not a book'. In other words, (23) could deny a statement such as $p \cdot q$ under the form $p \cdot \tilde{q}$ (see further §2).

A sentence such as

(26) *El este și tată și mamă pentru mine* 'he is (like) a father and a mother to me' seems to be a violation of the previous rules, since it asserts that an object (a person) can be simultaneously two things that usually are contradictory : 'father' and 'mother'. In fact, the conjunction which (26) expresses, namely (xv) $r \cdot s$, where r is 'he is my father' and s is 'he is my mother', represents one of the form under the conjunction $(r \cdot \tilde{s})$ might be denied (r is true and $\tilde{s}$ is false) or the negation of the implication $(r \rightarrow \tilde{s})$. As we have already seen, DAR does not deny any implication. It is for this reason that DAR cannot occur in this kind of contexts :

Cf.⁺*El este tată dar mamă pentru mine.*
(However, DAR ȘI can : *El este (și) tată dar și mamă pentru mine).*

To conclude, in § 1.3 we have examined a case in which z is always false, while in § 1.4 we have met a case in which z is always true. Both of them violate the rules that state the relation between the variables in the first term of the implication belonging to DEȘI—sentences..

2. DAR vs. CI. Let us consider the following sentences :

(27) *Am auzit că Ana cîntă și dansează în acest spectacol.* — **Ana cîntă,** e adevărat, **dar nu dansează** 'I heard that Ann sings and dances in that show — Ann sings, it is true, but she does not dance' and

(28) *Am auzit că Ana cîntă la Operă* (și nu dansează) *astă seară* — *Nu-i adevărat,* **Ana nu cîntă, ci dansează** 'It is not true, she will not sing, she will dance', as well as (29) *Am auzit că Ana nu cîntă astă seară la Operă — Nu cîntă, e adevărat,* **dar** (în schimb) *dansează* 'They say that Ann will not sing to night at the Opera — She will not sing, it is true, but she will dance'.

See also (4) and (5) which may occur in the following dialogue : 'You hate me, I know it ! — No, it is not true. **I don't hate you, I love you.**

If one writes p for 'Ann sings' and
q for 'Ann dances',
the structure of (27) is — in logical terms — :

$$\text{(xiv)} \quad \sim(p \cdot q) = (p \cdot \tilde{q}).$$

In other words, DAR denies the expectation $(p \cdot q)$ under the form $p \cdot q$. As (29) shows, DAR can deny also the expectation $(\tilde{p} \cdot \tilde{q})$ as $(p \cdot \tilde{q})$, i.e. :

$$\text{(xvii)} \quad \sim(\tilde{p} \cdot \tilde{q}) = \tilde{p} \cdot q$$

CI also corresponds to ET, but in different contexts, namely when the expectation $(p \cdot \tilde{q})$ is denied under the form $(\tilde{p} \cdot q)$, i.e. :

$$\text{(xviii)} \quad \sim(p \cdot \tilde{q}) = \tilde{p} \cdot q$$

This hypothesis can account for the fact that both DAR and CI can occur between a negative term and a positive one (as in (xvii) and (xviii)) but they differ as to the expectation : $(\tilde{p} \cdot \tilde{q})$ vs. $(p \cdot \tilde{q})$.

but they differ as to the expectation : $(\tilde{p} \cdot \tilde{q})$ vs. $(p \cdot \tilde{q})$.

form $(\tilde{p} \cdot \tilde{q})$, as in

(30) *Am auzit că Ana nu va cînta, ci va dansa astă seară. — Nu-i adevărat*, **Ana nu va cînta și nu va dansa.** 'I heard that Ann will not sing, she will dance tonight. — It is not true, she will not sing and she will not dance, either'.

The underlying logical structure of (30) could pe stated as follows :

$$\text{(xix)} \quad \sim(\tilde{p} \cdot q) = \tilde{p} \cdot \tilde{q}$$

ȘI NU can also deny the expectation $(p \cdot q)$ under the form $(p \cdot \tilde{q})$ as in

(31) *Ion doarme și nu visează nimic* 'John is sleeping and he is not dreaming anything' (the expectation is dreaming something').

When ȘI NU expresses the relation

$$\text{(xx)} \quad \sim(p \cdot q) = p \cdot \tilde{q},$$

it might be replaced by DAR (see (xvi)) :

(32) *Ion doarme dar nu visează nimic* 'John is sleeping but he is not dreaming. . .'

3. IAR. In some Romanian grammars, IAR is called 'copulative-adversative conjunction'. What does it mean in logical terms ?

Let us consider the following complex sentences :

(33) *Ion face piața iar Maria gătește* 'John goes to the supermarket and Mary cooks' ;

(34) *?Ion face piața iar Maria nu gătește* 'John goes to the market and Mary does not cook' and

(35)$^{+}$*Ion face piața iar (Ion) nu gătește* 'John goes to the market and he does not cook'.

The sentence (33) can be extended as

(36) *Ion face piața iar Maria gătește,* **și nu invers** 'John goes to the market and Mary cooks, **and not viceversa**'.

If we write p for 'John goes to the market',

q for 'Mary cooks'
r for 'John cooks' and
z for 'Mary goes to the market', we can write (36) as follows :

(xxi) $(p \cdot \widetilde{r}) \cdot (q \cdot \widetilde{z})$.

This is one of the regular expressions corresponding to the Rom. IAR

3.1. The contrast, the adversative meaning of IAR is an 'effet de sens' due to the fact that the predicates of the complex sentence are related in the following ways :

Let us write — in terms of the Predicate Calculus —

G for the predicate 'goes to the supermarket'
C for 'cooks', and
x for John
y for Mary.

Then we may state the relations between the predicates of the sentences connected by IAR as follows :

(xxii) $G_{(x)} \rightarrow \widetilde{C}_{(x)}$ and (xxiii) $C_{(y)} \rightarrow \widetilde{G}_{(y)}$

In the transformational component of a Generative Grammar, the negative sentences ($\widetilde{r}$ and $\widetilde{z}$) are deleted by virtue of the correferentiality of their nominal constituents with the nominals of the positive corresponding sentences (p and q).

Thus from

Ion face piața • *Maria gătește* • *Ion nu gătește* • *Maria nu face...*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

we obtain, by EQUI—NP—Deletion :

1 2 3 4 ∅ 6 ∅ 8

$\widetilde{C}_{(x)}$ is deleted because of the implication (xxii) and $\widetilde{G}_{(x)}$ is deleted as implied by $C_{(x)}$ (see rule xxiii).

3.2. Why does sentence (34) sound anomalous ? In the hypothesis that IAR allows the expansion 'and not viceversa', the underlying logical structure of (34) would be : *Ion face piața. Maria nu gătește. Ion nu gătește. Maria nu face piața.*

In P.C. terms, the structure of (34) would conjoin the predicates C and G in the following way :

$$G_{(x)} \cdot \widetilde{C}_{(y)} \cdot \widetilde{C}_{(x)} \cdot \widetilde{G}_{(y)}$$

but, in the logical status of IAR, the predicates must be related as contradictory terms (cf. xxii and xxiii) ; (34) violates rule (xxiii), by asserting that $\widetilde{C}_{(y)}$ is cooccurrent with $\widetilde{G}_{(x)}$.

3.3. The logical structure of (35) would be something like 'Ion face piața și Ion nu gătește, și nu invers' i.e. Ion face piața. Ion nu gătește. Ion nu gătește. Ion face piața'., in logical terms :

$$G_{(x)} \cdot \tilde{C}_{(x)} \cdot \tilde{C}_{(x)} \cdot \tilde{G}_{(x)}$$

which is pleonastic as it asserts twice that $G_{(x)}$ cooccurs with $\tilde{C}_{(x)}$. But IAR requests that the argument of the first positive predicate should be different from the argument of the second positive predicate : $x \neq y$, which is not the case for (35).

3.4. IAR vs. DAR. Let us consider the sentences :

(36) *Ion face piața iar Maria gătește (și nu invers)*

and

(37) *Ion face piața dar Maria gătește* 'John goes to the market, but Mary cooks', which might be the reply in a dialogue such as : *Am auzit că Ion face piața și nu Maria* 'I heard that John goes to the market and not Mary' — *Este adevărat,* **Ion face piața dar Maria gătește** *nu stă degeaba* 'It is true, **John goes to the market, but Mary cooks** (she is doing something)'.

First of all, one has to notice that (37) does not allow the expansion 'and not viceversa', while (36) does :

Cf. (38)**Ion face piața dar Maria gătește, și nu invers.*

The occurrence of DAR rests on the implication "If Mary does not go to market, then she does nothing", in logical terms,

(xxiv) $\tilde{z} \rightarrow \tilde{q}$

(37) state something like :

(xxxv) $p \cdot \tilde{z} \cdot \sim(o \cdot \tilde{v}) \cdot \sim\tilde{q}$, where

$\tilde{o} \cdot v$ corresponds to the circumstances in which $\tilde{z} \cdot q$ are true.

(xxv) is equivalent to

(xxvi) $p \cdot \tilde{z} \cdot \tilde{o} \cdot v \cdot q$,

that is, in lexical terms, p 'John goes...', $\tilde{z}$ 'Mary does not go...', q 'Mary cooks...', $\tilde{o}$ 'there are not the supposed circumstances...', v 'there are other circumstances'. After the deletion of $\tilde{z}$ (under conditions that have to be stated ; in any case it is clear that the predicate of $\tilde{z}$ is implied by the predicate of p) and the deletion of $\tilde{o} \cdot v$, as indefinite or redundant, the result is :

p BUT q

4. *Conclusions.* The difference between Rom. CI, DAR, and IAR can be stated as follows :

DAR corresponds to the operator, ET. Then it denies an expectation in which the terms of the conjunction should bear the same sign, being positive or both negative.

(a) $p \cdot q$, denied as $p \cdot \tilde{q}$ or

(b) $p \cdot q$ denied as $p \cdot q$

CI, IAR, and ŞI NU correspond — all of them — to the operator ET, but CI denies the expectation $(p \cdot \tilde{q})$ as $\tilde{p} \cdot q$; ŞI NU denies the expectation $(\tilde{p} \cdot q)$ as $(\tilde{p} \cdot \tilde{q})$, while IAR does not deny any expectation ; it conjoins two coordinate sentences in the surface structure when they derive from a conjunction of four sentences, each predicate implies the negation of the other for the same argument.

When DACĂ is synonymous with DEŞI 'although', it does not deny any implication but it asserts that the second term of the implication is not true because some of the necesary conditions for the truth of this term are not satisfied.

DAR, CI and ŞI NU have in common the negation of an expectation expressed in terms of a conjunction (ET), while the adversative meaning of IAR is an "effet de sens" of the relations established between the predicates of the conjoined sentences.

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A CONSTRATIVE GRAMMAR OF ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN COORDINATE CONJOINED CONSTRUCTIONS

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The object of this paper is twofold :

1. to provide, we hope, a coherent contrastive grammar of English and Romanian coordinate conjoined constructions with special emphasis on conjoined NPs, and on this basis

2. to predict and analyse errors due to interference in the production of English conjoined structures by Romanian speakers (though once in a while, errors will be predicted for English learners of Romanian).

I wish to point out from the outset the fact that several of the conjoined constructions resulting from the interference of the two point of view (if we admit that there are degrees of grammatical acceptability [1]). The author also wishes to make a point of a somewhat larger scope, namely, that beside providing a contrastive grammar for the morphophonemic structure and the basic simplex transformations in two or more languages, it is important to go one step further and describe larger units or the language. Beyond formalizing other areas of linguistic contrast, such an undertaking proves rewarding in reinforcing or refining the morphophonemic rules already available, and it may also propose corrections to several of them.

Descriptions of coordinate conjoined constructions within generative grammars fall into three main types of approaches to the problem [2].

The first may be referred to as the *Sentence Reduction Hypothesis*, It is the line adopted by the comparatively older and more orthodox generative grammars (Chomsky, 1957 ; L. Gleitman, 1965). Thus Gleitman proposes a grammar which incorporates the following rule into the categorial component of the base :

(i) $S \rightarrow S^n$

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[1] The question of grammatical acceptability and stylistic variety is raised by E. A. Levenston, *Over-indulgence and under-representation-aspects of mother tongue interference*, in Nickel G. Papers in Contrastive Linguistics. Levenston dwells on the need for an approach which goes beyond "mere comparison of rule systems" (p. 115). and takes into consideration the distribution of rules with respect to register and style (p. 115). The relevance of such study for teaching a foreign language is pointed out.

[2] The names for the three approaches to the study of coordination, and the general line in characterizing them follows Ray Dougherty's presentation in 1970, I. and 1971, II.

This phrase-structure rule will generate coordinations of sentences in the deep structure. A *Coordination Reduction Transformation* can, under certain conditions, reduce these deep structure sentences to yield a coordination of NPs or of E.g., rule (i) and the Reduction Transformation would be employed in the generation of the surface structure (1) from the underlying sentences (2) and (3) :

(1) John and Mary invited us to the party.
(2) John invited us to the party.
(3) Mary invited us to the party.

The basic difficulties that this hypothesis meets are : first, the elements of the conjunct being always considered to be independently functioning units, it cannot assign a structural description to a sentence such as :

(4) John and Harry are similar.

Further on, there are strong reasons to believe that the Coordination Conjunction Transformation cannot be a Reduction Transformation, but a Substitution Transformation.

The second proposal — the *Conjunct Movement Hypothesis* — considers coordinate conjoined NPs to be of two types : one in which the elements are regarded as independently functioning elements, and the other in which the elements are conceived as a unity. The first type, exemplified by :

(5) John and Mary are students.

is called *Sentence Conjunction* ; the second type, as in (4), is called *Phrasal Conjunction*.

Coordinate Conjoined NPs with the sentence conjunction interpretation are generated as in the *Conjunction Reduction Hypothesis*, only that the transformational component incorporates the optional *Conjunct Movement Transformation*. This transformation will optionally convert (6) into (7) :

(6) John and Bill met.

(7) John met with Bill.

Coordinate conjoined NPs with the phrasal conjunction interpretation, as in (4), are introduced into a deep structure phrase marker by rule (ii) :

(ii) $NP \rightarrow NP^n$

Statements such as these have been made by Lakoff & Peters, 1966 ; Carlota S. Smith, 1969 ; Ross, 1967 ; Mark Lester, 1971 ; Bruce Liles, 1971 ; Quirk, 1973.

The main deficiency of this approach is that it does not provide operational tests for a definitive characterization of the two types of coordinate conjoined NPs. The distinction rests only on the existence versus non-existence of conjoined sentence paraphrases. Moreover, the term "phrasal conjunction" has been used rather vaguely, or as R. Dougherty (1970, I) characterizes it, it is a "Catch-all category including all conjoined structures which do not imply a conjoined sentence paraphrase".

A third alternative, called the ***Phrase Structure Rule*** (PSR) ***Hypothesis***, is put forward in works by R. Dougherty, 1970, I ; 1971, II ; and McCawley, 1968. The facts about the English and Romanian coordinate conjoined constructions, which this analysis will point out, concur to demonstrate that it is within this framework that a contrastive grammar of the coordinate structures in the two languages can best be developed.

The PSR hypothesis incorporates the following assumptions :

1. All conjoined structures are generated in the deep structure phrase marker by a phrase-structure rule schema.

2. The semantic interpretation and syntactic properties of the coordinate conjoined constructions are accounted for by features assigned to the coordinate node.

3. The conjunction transformation is a Substitution Transformation.

The phrase-structure component of the base will include the following rules :

(iii) $S \rightarrow NP \quad VP$

(iv) $S \rightarrow S^n$

(v) $NP \rightarrow NP^n$

(vi) $VP \rightarrow VP^n$ [3]

Rules iv, v, and vi can be collapsed and expressed as :

(vii) $X \rightarrow X^n$

where X stands for major category S, NP, or VP. This formulation follows the argument of Chomsky's hypothesis (1970), that the major categories : S, NP, VP have parallel internal skeletal structures.

If the rule schema expands the major category *S*, equivalent English and Romanian sentences are produced in the surface structure :

(8) a) Susan screamed, Betty howled, Ann laughed, Agnes fainted, and Donna ran away.

b) Susan a ţipat, Betty a urlat, Ann a ris, Agnes a leşinat, iar Donna a fugit.

The process of derivation is quite smooth in both language, sentences follow one another in a run-on chain which is only barred by limits of mental capacity.

If the rule schema expands the major category VP, then (9 a.) and its Romanian equivalent are generated :

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[3] The Phrase Structure Rule component in Dougherty's version of the PSR hypothesis optionally introduces in the expansion of each major symbol Distributive Adverbs and Distributive Quantifiers. The rules have the form :

$X \rightarrow (Q)\ X^n\ (ADV)$

Since distributive adverbs are best described in terms of selectional restrictions, and sub-categorization rules, which lie beyond the scope of our paper, the PSR have been presented in a simplified form.

[4] In Chomsky 1970, *Remarks on Nominalization*, it has also been suggested that nodes are not unanalysable symbols, but that may be considered as feature complexes. These two suggestions have been used in this description of coordination. Furthermore Dougherty restates his analysis of coordinate constructions in terms of the Bar Notation proposed by Chomsky. (Dougherty, 1971, II, pp. 335—337).

(9) a) A boy crossed the streeet and was hit by a car.

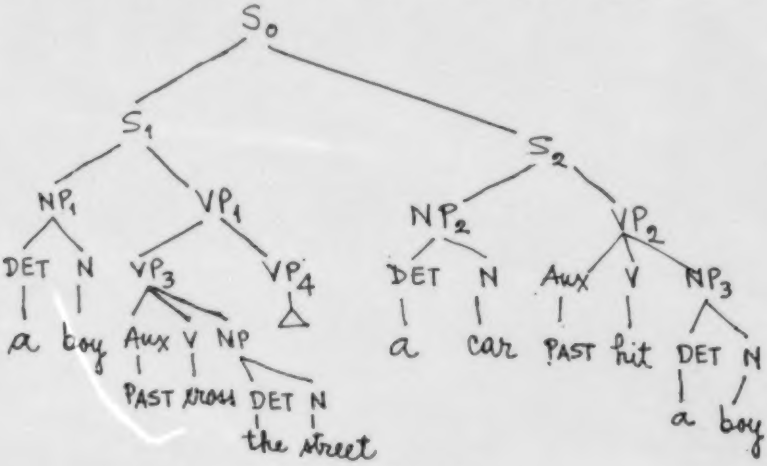
b) Un băiat a trecut strada și a fost lovit de o mașină.

The coordinate conjunction of VPs is a derived structure VP. Sentences (9a) and (9b) are derived from a deep structure[5]:

(10) A boy crossed the street.

(11) A car hit a boy.

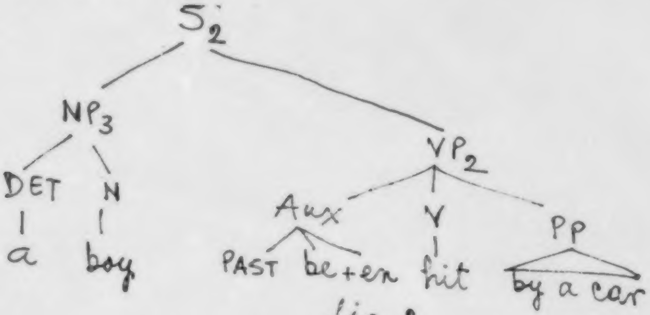
In the PSR hypothesis, (9a) and (9b) are generated by an interplay of the PSR schema and the Conjunction Substitution Transformation. The category VP is coordinated *n* times in the matrix (here n=2) and *n* occurrences of matched sentences are generated by base rules.



S_0
S_1
S_2
NP_1
VP_1
NP_2
VP_2
DET
N
VP_3
VP_4
DET
N
Aux
V
NP_3
a
boy
Aux
V
NP
a
car
PAST
hit
DET
N
PAST
cross
DET
N
a
boy
the
street

fig. 1

VP_3 and VP_4 are coordinated under VP_1, and VP_4 terminates in the dummy symbol. On S_2, the Passive Transformation applies (fig. 2). On the S_0 cycle the Conjunction Substitution Transformation replaces VP_4 by VP_2.



S_2'
NP_3
VP_2
DET
N
Aux
V
PP
a
boy
PAST
be+en
hit
by a car

fig. 2

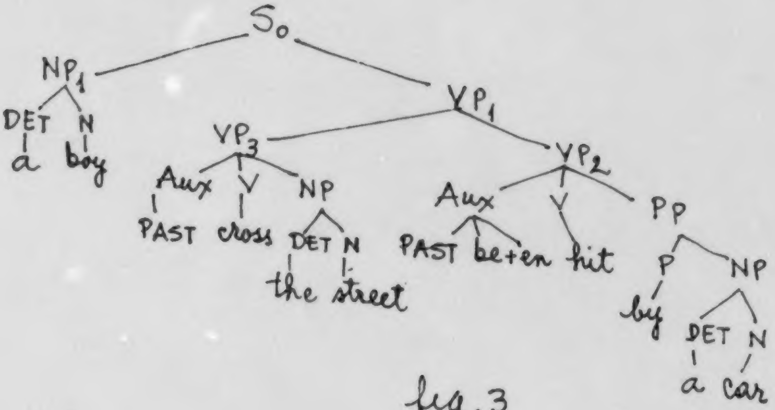


fig.3

condition : $NP_1 = NP_3$

The Conjunction Substitution Transformation operates to fill in dummy elements which are introduced as final elements in conjoined structures produced by the PSR schema.

The derivational mechanism presented accounts for the perfect similarity in structure between (9a) and (9b), and gives us grounds to argue about a misconception of quite a few Romanian speakers of English with regard to the English verb, namely, that it should *always* be accompanied by a surface structure subject (pronoun, while the Romanian verb should not, since person is expressed in the verb ending.

Sentences (12 a, c, e) and (12 b, d, f) are equally puzzling for the English and Romanian native speakers, respectively. Informants are inclined to interpret the two subjects in each sentence as referring to different persons[6]:

(12) a)?A boy crossed the street and a boy was hit by a car.
b)?Un băiat a trecut strada și un băiat a fost lovit de o mașină.
c)?A boy crossed the street and *he* was hit by a car.
d)?Un băiat a trecut strada și *el* a fost lovit de o mașină.
e)?A boy crossed the street and he was hit by a car.
f)?Un băiat a trecut strada și el a fost lovit de o mașină.

On the other hand in (13), a surface structure subject is present with the second conjoined V, in English while in Romanian it is not :

(13) a) I think that the problem of ambiguous sentences with "and", and their transformational history and description, and other related problems can be solved, and *I* consider further investigation to be necessary.

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[5] Unless mentioned as contrasting the basic mechanism of conjunction is similar in the two language under discussion, and is stated once only.

[6] The same type of sentences are exemplified by Gleitman (p. 87) reprinted in Reibel & Schane.

b) Eu cred că problema propozițiilor ambigue cu "și", istoria lor derivativă și descrierea lor, cît și alte probleme înrudite pot fi rezolvate, și consider necesară continuarea investigației.

Such instances have led to what I think is a wrong strategy of many Romanian teachers of English . You can hear it quite often taught to the students that an English verb should *always* have a surface structure subject. This is probably the source of the rather frequent sentences, such as (14a) and (15a), which students produce :

(15) a)?John went out, he looked around carefully, he turned right, and he started running.

(15) a)?John saw Paul, he picket up his brief-case, and he handed him the file.

while a word for word translation of (14b) and (15b) would have provided the correct English equivalents :

(14) b) John a ieșit, s-a uitat atent în jur, s-a întors la dreapta și a luat-o la fugă.

(15) b) John l-a văzut pe Paul, și-a luat servieta și i-a dat dosarul.

In view of the PSR and the transformational mechanism employed in the derivation of :

(9) a) A boy crossed the street and was hit by a car.

the surface structure subject for the second VP conjunct is not the rule, but on the contrary, it is an exception, which could probably be expained only in terms of memory limitations and stylistic option.

For an adequate derivation of English and Romanian conjoined NPs we shall refer back to the second assumption of the PSR hypothesis.

It has been stated that the semantic interpretation and syntactic properties of coordinate conjoined constructions are accounted for by features assigned to the coordinate node. Such features are called DISTRIBUTIVE FEATURES, and according to R. Dougherty (1970 I) they are : TOTALITY, INDIVIDUAL, DISJUNCTIVE, NEGATIVE. The features TOTALITY, and INDIVIDUAL combine to yield deep structure feature complexes[7].

In what follows we will be particularly concerned with the possible expansions of NP by rule :

(v) $NP \rightarrow NP^n$

We assume that the base component contains the rules (viii—x). This set of rules incorporates the distributive features in expansions of complex symbols :

(viii) NP → C.S.[8]

(ix) C.S. / NP → [± semantically non-singular]

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[7] The main lines of this analysis are provided by Dougherty, 1969, I, pp. 868—872.

[8] The abbreviation C. S. is used to mean "complex symbol". The features Semantic non-singularity, Totality, and Individual are abbreviated as [sns, tot, ind].

$$(x)\quad \underset{[+\text{sns}]}{\text{C.S. NP}} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \pm \text{totality} \\ \pm \text{individual} \end{bmatrix}$$

Class I of conjoined NP has the feature complex [— tot, + ind]. NPS in this class allow for a conjoined sentence paraphrase, and emphasize individual actions. They are often accompanied by surface structure quantifiers such as : *each* — *fiecare*, e.g.

(16) a) John, Bill, and Tom each ate alone.
b) John, Bill și Tom au mîncat fiecare singur.

(17) a) Either John or Mary has come over to see you.
b) Sau John sau Mary a venit să te vadă.

Traditional grammars, both English and Romanian, assign the coordinated NP introduced by *neither. . .nor* to this first class, as the negative counterpart of *either. . .or* Furthermore, it is stated that the verb which follows the NP, agrees in number with the second NP.

(18) a) Neither John nor Mary has invited us to the party.
b) Nici John nici Mary nu ne-a invitat la petrecere.

Still native speakers of English and Romanian feel it quite natural to make a plural NP — VP agreement, as it is done after *NP and NP*, though they are aware of what grammars say that it is correct

(18) c) Neither John nor Mary have invited us to the party.
d) Nici John nici Mary nu ne-au invitat la petrecere.

If we accept that (18c) and (18d) are correct then we pass them over to the next class of conjoined NPs, which have the feature [+ tot]. And, indeed, we can say that *neither. . .nor* is the negative for *both*, rather than for *either. . .or*, which suggests that one of the two subjects have done the action, while in the case of *neither. . .nor* they both have failed to do it.

Class II coordinate NPs have the feature complex [+ tot, + ind]. The characteristic surface structure quantifiers are : *all* — *toți*, and *both* — *ambii*, if only two conjuncts are present :

(19) a) John, Bill, and Tom all ate alone.
b) John, Bill și Tom au mîncat toți singuri.

(20) a) Jimmie and Timmie both work in the garden.
b) Jmimie și Timmie ambii lucrează în grădină.

The conjoined English and Romanian NPs which follow are contrasting from the point of view of the possibility of judging from the surface structure their appurtenance to Class I or Class II of coordinate NPs.

(21) a) She complained to John and to Peter.
b) She complained to John and Peter.
c) Ea s-a plîns lui John și lui Peter.
d) Ea s-a plîns lui John și Peter.

(22) a) She complained to Mary and to John.
b) She complained to Mary and John.
c) Ea s-a plîns Mariei și lui John.

(23) a) She complained to father (mother) and to brother (sister).
b) She complained to father (mother) and brother (sister).
c) Ea s-a plîns tatălui (mamei) și fratelui (surorii).

The English pairs (21) a b, (22) a b, (23) a b exhibit the opposition [± totality]. The conjoined NPs in (21a), (22a), (23a) share the feature complex [— tot, + ind] and belong to our class I. Their *b* pairs have the features [+ tot, + ind], and belong to class II of coordinate NPs. In English the deep structure feature [— tot] is expressed in the surface structure by the repetition of the Dative case-marker *to* in front of each conjunct. On the contrary, [+ tot] has the surface structure realization in a single occurrence of *to* before the first conjunct.

In Romanian, the opposition [± tot] can only have a surface structure realization when the two NPs are masculine proper names. It is only with masculine proper names that the Dative marker *lui* can appear (21d). With all the other categories of nouns the Dative maker is realized as an inflectional ending of each noun. The Romanian surface structures (22c) and (23c) are indifferent to the feature [± tot].

The analysis of these examples leads us to predict an error of omission made by Romanian speakers in English. Structures as (22b) and (23b) will rarely be produced by Romanians.

Examples (24) and (25) show, on the contrary, fewer possibilities of expression in English than in Romanian :

(24) a) Ea a invitat fata și băiatul.
b) Ea i-a invitat pe fată și pe băiat.
c) She invited the boy and the girl.

(25) a) El știe latină și greacă.
b) El știe latina și greaca.
c) He knows Latin and Greek.

The English NPs in the Accusative are unmarked for the feature [± tot], in the sentences (24c) and (25c). The Romanian conjoined NPs in (24 a,b) and (25 a,b) are variable to express the opposition [± tot]. In the example (24b) the pronominal antecedent of the Direct Object NP, and the repetition of the Accusative case marker *pe* before each conjunct are surface structure realizations of the deep structure feature [— tot]. The opposition [± Article] in the case of Romanian proper names, abstract and mass nouns marks the distinction between the deep structure features [+ tot] versus [— tot] in the sentences (25a) and (25b), respectively.

The coordinate conjoined NPs in *Class III* have the feature complex [+ tot, — ind] on the coordinate node. The characteristic surface structure quantifiers are *all* and (cu) *toți*. The conjoined NPs in (26) — (28) have no conjoined sentence paraphrases in either language. The conjuncts function in so close a proximity and interrelation that within this class the conjunction *and* often has the meaning *plus* and many Romanian coordinate NPs have the conjunction *cu* instead of the *and* in their English equivalents.

(26) a) John, Bill, and Tom all met in New York.
b) John, Bill și Tom s-au intîlnit cu toții în New York.

(27) a) Two and two is four.
b) Doi și cu doi fac patru.

(28) a) Bread and butter is my favourite food.
b) Pîinea cu unt este mîncarea mea preferată.

Since *cu* is a very frequent connector of the conjoined NPs within this class in Romanian, students tend to replace the common English idioms from (27a) and (28a) by the unacceptable :

(29) ?Two with two is four.

(30) ?Bread with butter is my favourite food.

Several Romanian grammars have even introduced a grammatical category to describe the conjunct introduced by *cu* — the so-called associative complement. Taking into consideration our description of coordinate NPs, and the equivalent constructions in the English language, it hardly seems necessary to say that in (27) *with two* is a complement of *two*.

Example (31) illustrates the fact that the opposition [± individ] more often finds a surface structure realization in Romanian than in English due to the [± Article] distinction, and the presence of the conjunction *cu :*

(31) a) Lui Tom îi plac cafeaua și frișca.
b) Lui Tom îi place cafea cu frișcă.
c) Tom likes coffee and cream.

The English sentences (32a) and (32b) exhibit the well known opposition between joint and separate possessions :

(32) a) John's and Mary's arrival.
b) John and Mary's arrival.

The sentence (32a) is assigned in the phrase marker the complex symbol I, while (32b) has the complex symbol III assigned to it. Due to the synthetic case inflection in Romanian, this opposition is not retained on the surface structure :

(32) c) Sosirea Mariei și a lui John.

This distinction is only preserved when both conjuncts are masculine proper names. The contrast between English and Romanian in the case of the possibility of referring the Genitive marker to all conjuncts versus each conjunct suggests that the morpheme *'s* might not be a synthetic case ending after all, but an analytical case marker of the same type as *to* is for the Dative.

Class IV conjoined NPs have the feature complex [—ind, —tot] in the deep structure. There are no characteristic quantifiers for this class in either language under discussion.

(33) a) John, Bill, and Tom are a motley crew.
b) John, Bill și Tom sînt un grup pestriț.

The contrast between the English and Romanian coordinate NPs which belong to this class can only be described in terms of strict subcategorization and selection rules of verbs and adverbs.

Conclusions

1. The theoretical framework adopted in this paper — the Phrase Structure Rule Hypothesis — has allowed us to generate a large number of English and Romanian coordinate conjoined constructions, to classify them in a way that points out areas of contrast, and to infer generalizations about interference in conjoined structures in terms of the derivational mechanism postulated,

2. The analysis has reinforced and refined some of the findings of the other studies on contrastive English and Romanian grammar, such as : the analytic in English, versus syntethic in Romanian, expression of case and person oppositions.

3. A new approach has been suggested within the grammar of each language to the following constructions : doi cu doi (two and two), nici. . .nici (neither. . .nor,), 's Genetive.

4. The analysis of errors undertaken may prove specially profitable for advanced Romanian learners of English. The goal of foreign language teaching is often thought to be reached when the learner has achieved mechanical mastering of the basic structures of the second language. It is true that most of the errors mentioned in the paper would not hinder oral communication, and that they are quite often left unchallenged by the teacher when produced in isolation. Still a longer text written in the "style" afore presented would result in what J. R. Ross aptly called "a perfect word salad". Further instruction along the lines suggested here is desirable for advanced Romanian learners of English.

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EMPHASIS IN THE AND-TYPE CONJUNCTION IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN

MARIANA GRUIŢA

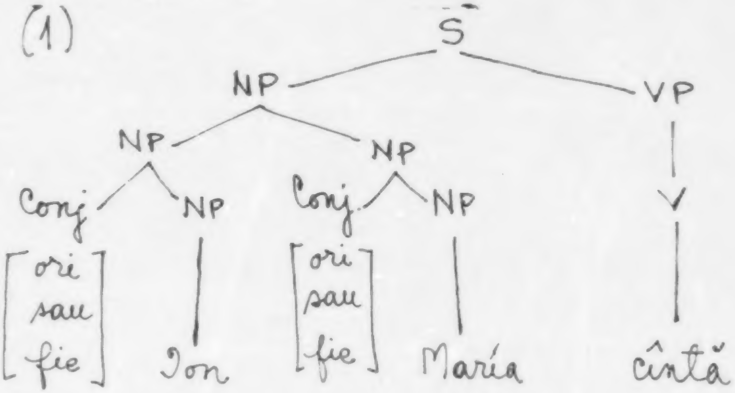
The ideas expressed by coordinate conjunctions may generally be emphasized by :

A. Blocking certain transformations, which, under normal circumstances, do occur.

B. Using some supplementary (additional) elements.

A. This procedure is used in Romanian only to emphasize the idea of disjunction expressed by *sau-type conjunctions*. We are referring to *Initial-Conjunction Deletion*, a transformation which is blocked when emphasis is to be expressed :

(1)



(2) *Sau Ion sau Maria cîntă.*

The possible application of the Initial-Conjunction Deletion schema would result in the following structure :

(3) *Ion sau Maria cîntă.*

where the idea of disjunction is dissiminated. This procedure is also present in English, but only with the *and-type conjunction*. In English the transformation that does not take place is the *Medial-Conjunction Deletion*. Compare :

(4) (a) *John and Bill and Richard sang and danced.*

(b) *John, Bill and Richard sang and danced.*

The same phenomenon is to be found in Romanian, with the same type of conjunction :

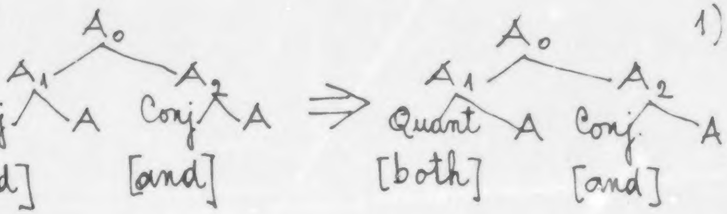
(5) *Ion și Maria și Vasile cîntă și dansează.*

B. This case is common to both languages, but the insertion of emphatic particles occurs under different circumstances, sometimes having different results, as we will show in the following paragraphs.

Within the *and-type* conjunction, according to the way in which the emphasis is realized, we can distinguish two subtypes : [— Negative] and [+ Negative].

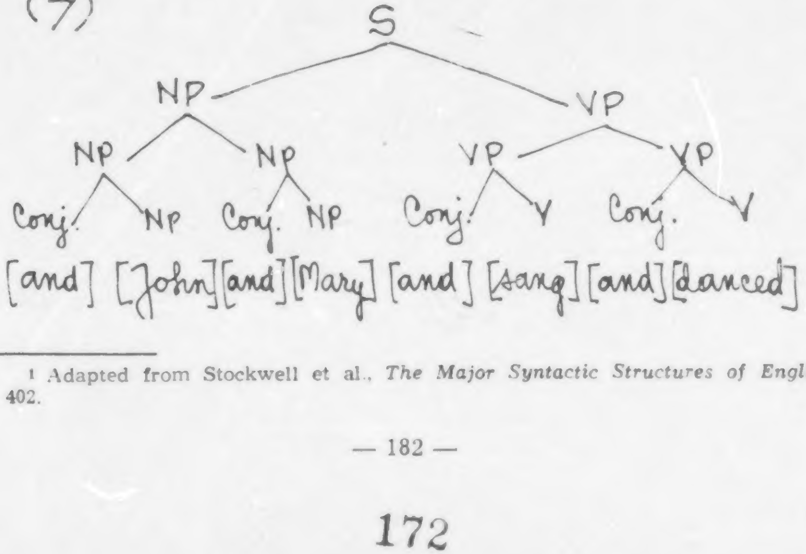
I. *The emphasis of the and-type under the condition [— NEG].* In English this is the case for *Both-Insertion schema,* which has the following form :

(6)


A₀
A₁
A₂
Conj
A
Conj
A
[and]
[and]
⇒
A₀
1)
A₁
A₂
Quant
A
Conj.
A
[both]
[and]

As it can be noticed, the schema operates, optionally, to replace the initial conjunction *and* of the structure by Quant, *both*. For example :

(7)


S
NP
VP
NP
NP
VP
VP
Conj.
NP
Conj.
NP
Conj.
V
Conj.
V
[and]
[John]
[and]
[Mary]
[and]
[sang]
[and]
[danced]

---

[1] Adapted from Stockwell et al., *The Major Syntactic Structures of English* p. 402.

Operating upon (7), the schema may replace the initial conjunction *and* of the NP, that of the VP, or both, by the quantifier *both*. The ultimate results are any of the following structures :

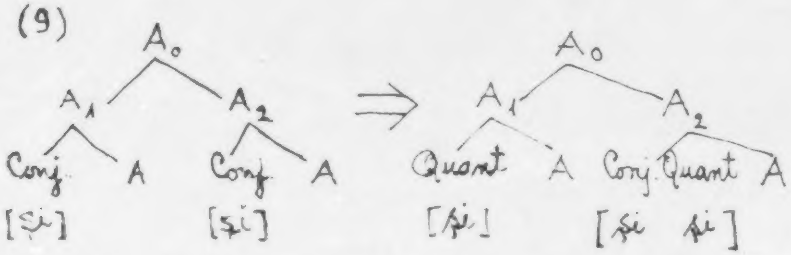
(8) (a) *Both John and Mary sang and danced.*

(b) *John and Mary both sang and danced.*

(c) *Both John and Mary both sang and danced.*

The process is similar in Romanian, except that the *Şi-Insertion*[2] requires the repetition of the quantifier after each occurrence of the coordinate conjunction :[3]

(9)



While in English we have *Both John and Mary sang*, its Romanian counterpart is :

(10) *Şi Ion şi Maria au cîntat.*

The restrictions on the application of the *Quantifier-Insertion* schema are in this respect totally different. Thus in English there are three conditions on the schema :

(a) A_1 and A_2 are the only daughters of A_0 ;

(b) $A_0 \neq S$;

(c) The insertion of *both* does not allow the deletion of *and*.

The first condition on the schema prevents the insertion of *both* in cases where there are more than two conjuncts. Thus it blocks such strings :

(11) (a) **Both John and Mary and Bill sang.*

(b) **John played both football and soccer and baseball.*

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[2] *Si* is a quantifier in this case, it shouldn't be taken as the unstressed *şi* (and).

[3] We use the term *Si-Insertion* and not *şi-şi Insertion* because the repetition of *şi* occurs not only once (cf. *Ionel şi Maria şi Ana şi Petru)* and we want to capture it under a more general formula : *Si-Insertion* is accompanied by the repetition of *şi* after each conjunction in the structure.

The second restriction on the *Both-Insertion schema* prevents the insertion of *both* when the two conjuncts are dominated by an S, blocking strings like :

(12) (a) **Both John sang and Mary danced.*
(b) **Both John gave and Bill lent some money to Susan.*

The third condition on the schema excludes such strings as :

(13) (a) **Both John, Mary sang.*
(b) **John both sang, danced.*

because *both* requires the presence of *and*. In Romanian the first and the third conditions are not present in the case of *Şi-Insertion* schema :

(14) (a) *Şi Ion, şi Maria, şi Vasile cîntă.*
(b) *Ion şi cîntă, şi dansează, şi mănîncă.*

As for the third condition, the deletion of *şi*, is not only possible, but extremely frequent, and it function almost as a rule in Romanian :

(15) (a) *Şi Ion, şi Maria cîntă* =)
(b) *Şi Ion, şi Maria cîntă.*

The second condition on the schema operates in Romanian too, preventing such strings as :

(16) (a) **Şi Ion cîntă şi Maria dansează.*
(b) **Şi Ion îi dă, şi Vasile îi împrumută bani Mariei.*

Given the first condition on the *Both-Insertion* schema, in English there is another rule that inserts *all* into the structure *(All-Insertion)*. *All* and *both* are in complementary distribution, *all* occurring only if there are three or more than three conjuncts, while *both*, as we have seen, occurs only when there are exactly two conjuncts. At the same time, unlike *both*, *all* can generally be introduced only as a constituent of an NP :

(17) (a) *John and Bill and Harry all passed the examination.*
(b) **John sang and danced and played all.*
(c) **John is rich and handsome and intelligent all.*

Another constraint on *all*, at least when it is a constituent of a NP involving conjunction, is that the NP of which it is a constituent, can not be sentence-final (or clause-final). Thus (18 a) is grammatical, but (18 b) is not :

(18) (a) *I sent Mary and Bill and John all books.*
(b) **I sent books to Mary and Bill and John all*[4].

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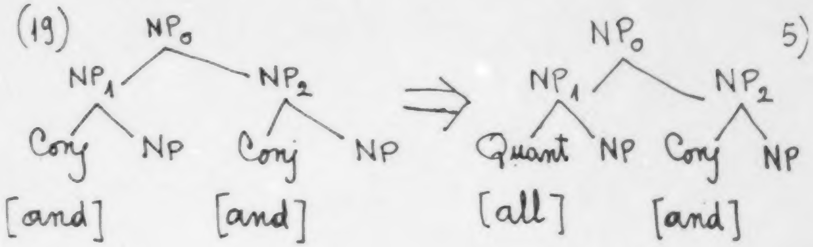
[4] We should notice, however, that *all* does occur as a sentence-final NB headed by a personal pronoun : *I gave books to them all.*

All-Insertion schema may be represented as :

(19)



5)

So *all* can complete *both* only if the three, four etc., conjuncts are NP's. In other words, *all* + *both* is not totally the emphatic equivalent of *și* in Romanian (cf. *Ion și cîntă, și dansează, și mănîncă*, whose English counterpart accepts neither *both* nor *all-insertion*).

This is done by *too*, which, in spite of its occurrence, is beyond the [— NEG]-type, and, as an emphatic particle, is beyond coordination (exactly like the adverb *și* in Romanian, in sentences, like *El și merge* or *Și el merge*). *Too* is a general emphatic particle (as *de asemenea, și, la fel* etc. in Romanian),which has a rather cumulative meaning, expressing resemblance.

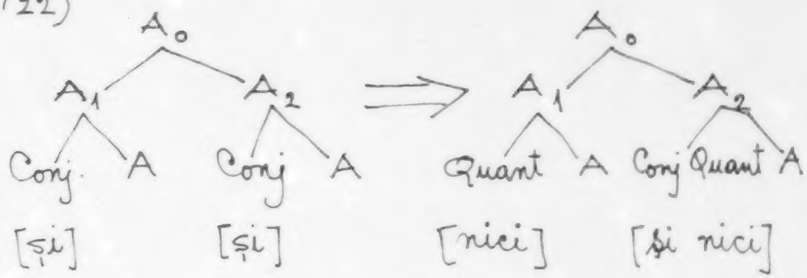
II. *The emphasis of the and-type under the condition [+ NEG]* In English this is the case with *Neither / nor-Insertion :*

(20) *John was never an excellent tennis player, and neither/nor did he try to become one.*

The emphasis is stronger when the two quantifiers are correlated — *neither . . . nor*. In this case, however, *and-deletion* is obligatory :

(21) *John is neither a smart boy, nor is he very hardworking.* To the English *neither/nor-Insertion schema* corresponds the Romanian *Nici-Insertion* schema :

(22)



(23) *Nici Ion și nici Maria nu pleacă.*

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[5] Adapted from Stockwell et al., *The Major Syntactic Structures of English* page 408.

The deletion of *și* is optional, but it is possible and very common :

(24) *Nici Ion, nici Maria nu pleacă.*

Comparing the system of the emphatic particles of the *and-type* conjunction in the two languages, the following statement should be made : Romanian has a rather simple, unitary, symmetrical and complete emphatic system : *și*/*nici* are, from a semantic point of view, antonyms, and, as elements expressing emphasis, they occur in a perfect complementary distribution (*și* occurs only in affirmative structures, while *nici* only in negative ones, without any exception). Both of them occur in the same position in the string, and both may be repeated after each conjunction in that string. They also cover all the situations in which emphasis is obligatory, without requiring any auxiliaries.

In English we find a more complex, non-unitary system of emphatic elements. Between *neither/nor* on the one hand, and *both/all* on the other, there is not only a contextual opposition ([— NEG] — [+ NEG]), but also one which refers to the position in which these emphatic particles occur in a structure. Their insertion into the string, as well as the differences that exist within the same group (cf. *both* as opposed to *all*) are other two important things that should be mentioned. Somewhat more systematical is the behaviour of the pair *too/also-either*, resembling in a way the Romanian *și . . . și*/*nici . . . nici*. Their distribution is complementary, the decisive element, being, as in Romanian, the negation :

(25) (a) *He is tall and he is fat too.*
(b) *He isn't tall and he isn't fat either.*

There are, however, as compared to the Romanian counterparts, significant differences. We are not referring so much to their position in the string, or to their non-unitary character, but especially to the fact that they are not typical of coordination (as emphatic particles, *too* and *either* go beyond coordination) :

(26) (a) *John, who is not a fool, isn't very smart either.*
(b) *Although John isn't very smart, he is no fool either.*
(c) *John is a specialist too.*

In spite of this, *și . . . și*/*nici . . . nici* on the one hand, and *too/either* on the other hand, have a very important feature in common : they can co-occur both with *but* and with *and* (*both* and *all* may co-occur only with *and*) :

(27) (a) *Și el, și ea cîntă.* / *Și el vine, dar și ea.*
(b) *Nici el, și nici ea nu cîntă.* / *Nici el nu vine, dar nici ea.*
(c) *She'll go and he'll go too.* / *She'll go, but he'll go too.*

They cannot, however, occur in strings such as :

(28) (a) **Și el scrie, dar și Maria nu scrie.*
(b) **He writes, but Mary doesn't either.*

This behaviour may be explained by the fact that, according to their semantic nature, *şi . . . şi*/*nici . . . nici* and *too*/*either* are not compatible with those conjunctions that express an opposition. They express a rather cumulative idea, one of similitude in a negative or positive direction. *But-type* is adversative, expressing the opposition between the two conjuncts it connects. This incompatibility of *but* with such emphatic particles raises the question of reinterpreting such strings like :

(29) (a) *Şi el, dar şi ea învaţă bine.*
(b) *Nici el nu e frumos, însă nici ea nu e Ileana Cosinzeana.*
(c) *He is tall, but she is tall too.*
(d) *He isn't a handsome man, but she isn't a beauty either.*
(e) *He isn't a tall man, but she isn't tall either.*

Dar, însă, but, as a matter of fact, do not even belong to the adversative type in the deep structure of these sentences. In the deep structure these sentences are something like :

(30) el învaţă bine . . . . ea învaţă bine
he is tall . . . . she is tall

These sentences are not in opposition in the deep structure, but rather in a sort of association (cf. *el învaţă bine şi ea învaţă bine* and not **el învaţă bine dar şi ea învaţă bine*). They only contradiction that could exist is a subjective one ; the speaker thinks that the listener expects the second idea to be opposed to the one expressed previously. This *but* is immediately cancelled by another element that underlines copulative idea. The two elements are strictly correlated in the way that this "*copulative but*" cannot occur without an emphatic particle :

(31) (a) **El învaţă bine dar ea învaţă bine.*
(b) **He is working hard, but she is working hard.*
(c) *Şi el, dar şi ea învaţă bine.*
(d) *He works hard, but she works hard too.*

The existence of a "copulative but" or of a *but* of *and-type* is evident (cf. Gramatica Academiei, ed. II). The question that rises is to establish precise criteria that could distinguish between the two types of *but*. The substitution for *and* might be a possible test to apply :

(32) (a) *Şi el, şi şi ea învaţă bine.*
(b) *He works hard and she works hard too.*

But it proves to be inconclusive, however, because there is also an *and* of the *but-type*.

(33) (a) *El merge şi ea nu merge.*
(b) *He is walking and she is not.*

It seems to us that the only exact and correct criterion that could be used in order to distinguish between the *and-type* conjunctions from the *but-type* ones, is their acceptance vs. non-acceptance of the *too either*-insertion (*și . . . și/nici . . . nici* in Romanian). Those conjunctions that do not accept the *too/either*-insertion belong to the *but/type.*

If our observations are correct, then it means that the real *but-type* conjunction has neither in English nor in Romanian any emphatic particles. This seems very natural if we take into consideration the fact that the *but-type* conjunction expresses a clear-cut opposition (usually negative/affirmative) which does not need additional emphasis.

RELATIVE CLAUSE FORMATION IN ENGLISH AND MANDARIN CHINESE AND ROSS' CONSTRAINTS : A CONSTRASTIVE APPROACH

MARIE-CLAUDE PARIS

Abstract

After describing the surface characteristics of relative clauses in English and Mandarin Chinese, following J. Ross (1967), we study both their derivations and the constraints they are subject to. We show that relative clauses in Mandarin constitute an exception to Ross' statement that copying rules are not subject to his constraints. We are thus led to propose another derivation for relative clauses which is general enough to account for two strategies of relativization which are superficially totally dissimilar. Our approach is based on L. Tesnière's and E. Benveniste's analyses.

The Chinese examples are romanized according to the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet (pinyin) and the analysis of relative clauses adopted is : NP → NP(S).

Relative clause formation in English and Mandarin Chinese can be characterized at first by two striking differences.

First difference

English has relative pro-nouns, i.e. elements that stand for nouns. These morphemes vary morphologically according to the function of the noun which is relativized in the embedded sentence. If the relativized NP is in object position, the relative pronoun can be deleted. The pro-noun is also sensitive to the [± Human] feature of the noun which is relativized. Thus we have :

— 1) The man who is wearing a hat...
— 2) The man (whom) John saw...
— 3) The book $\left(\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{which}\\ \text{that}\end{matrix}\right\}\right)$ John likes...

In 1) the relative pronoun stands for an NP which is subject and [+ Human]. In 2) and 3) it replaces an NP which is in object position and which is [+ Human] and [— Human], respectively. These pronouns (apart from *that*) are identical to interrogative pronouns and like interrogative pronouns they are moved to the left of the sentence to which they belong.

In Mandarin Chinese there are no relative pronouns. Whatever the function and the semantic characteristics of the noun which is relativized are, only *one element* (which is never deletable) marks on the surface the relationship between the embedded clause and the head noun of the relative clause, as is evidenced in 4) — 6).

4) Dai maozi — de — nei ge ren...
wear hat — rel. cl. marker — that Cl. man

The man who is wearing a hat

— 5) Zhangsan yujian — (-le) — de — nei ge ren...
Zhangsan meet — aspect marker — rel. cl. marker — that Cl. man

The man (whom) Zhangsan saw

— 6) Zhangsan xihuan — de — nei ben shu
Zhangsan like — rel. cl. marker — that Cl. book

The book ({which / that}) Zhangsan likes

The head nouns of 4) — 6) have the same properties as those stated in 1) — 3). If the relative clause marker is deleted we either get an ungrammatical sequence (compare 4) and 7) or a grammatical one but which is not a relative clause (see 8).

— 7) * Dai maozi — nei — ge ren
wear hat — that — Cl. man

— 8) Zhangsan yujian — le — nei — Cl. man
Zhangsan meet — aspect marker — that — ge ren

Zhangsan met that man

No parallelism can be established between the paradigm of interrogative pronouns (which are sensitive to the [± Human] feature, eg. shei, (who) shenmo, (which) ...) and the invariable marker of relativization *de*. It can be shown that *de* does not have any nominal characteristics since it cannot be quantified (cf. 9)), it cannot be coordinated with another noun (cf. 10)), and cannot function as subject, object, or object of a preposition (cf. 11)).

— 9) *Yi ge de / yi ge ren
one Cl. *de* / one Cl. man
one a man

*Hen shao de / hen shao ren
very rare *de* / very rare man
very few men

— 10) *de gen ren / nan ren gen nü ren
de and man / male man and female man
men and women

— 11) *de yujian -le Zhangsan / Lisi yujian -le Zhangsan
de meet aspect marker Zhangsan / Lisi meet aspect marker Zhangsan
Lisi saw Zhangsan

*Zhangsan chi -le de / Zhangsan chi -le fan
Zhangsan eat aspect marker *de* / Zhangsan eat aspect marker rice
Zhangsan ate

*Zhangsan ti de zuo fan / Zhangsan ti Lisi zuo fan
Zhangsan instead of *de* make rice / Zhangsan instead of Lisi make rice
Zhangsan instead of Lisi cooked.

All these syntactic characteristics tie in well with the labels given by traditional Chinese grammarians to *de*. *De* is called a *xuci* (empty word) while lexical elements are called *shici* (full words).

Second difference

Relative clauses follow their heads in English, but they precede their heads in Mandarin. Compare 1) — 3) to 4) — 6).

We will now turn to the derivation of relative clauses in the two languages. In "Constraints on variables in syntax", J. Ross (1967) proposes to derive relative clauses in English in the following way :

Structural description :

$$\begin{array}{cccccc} W & [_{NP}\ NP & - ({}_S X & - NP & - Y_S) &]_{NP}\ Z \\ 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \end{array} \rightarrow \text{obligatorily}$$

Structural change :

$$1 \quad 2 \quad 4 \ \# \ {}_{s}(3 \quad \emptyset \quad 5)_{s} \quad 6$$

— Condition : 2 = 4 ; where # stands for Chomsky adjunction. If the order of the head noun with respect to the relative clause is changed, one could posit the following derivation for relative clauses in Mandarin

$$\begin{array}{llllllll} W & \Big[_{NP} & {}_{s}(X & — NP — & Y)_{s} & NP & \Big]_{NP} & Z \\ 1 & & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & & 6 \rightarrow \text{obligatorily} \\ 1 & & (2 & \emptyset & 4) \# & 3 & 5 & 6 \end{array}$$

— Condition : 3 = 5

stands for Chomsky adjunction.

Such a rule would account for the following two noun-phrases 12) and 14), which derive from 13) and 15) respectively.

— 12) = 4) Dai maozi de nei ge ren
The man who is wearing a hat

$$— 13) \ \Big[_{NP} \ {}_{s}\begin{pmatrix}\text{nei ge ren dai maozi} \\ \text{that Cl. man wear hat}\end{pmatrix}_{s} \ \begin{matrix}\text{nei ge ren} \\ \text{that Cl. man}\end{matrix} \ \Big]_{NP} \rightarrow \text{(dai maozi)}$$

nei ge ren nei ge ren →
— 12) dai maozi de nei ge ren

— 14) = 5) Zhangsan yujian (-le) de nei ge ren
The man (whom) Zhangsan saw

$$— 15) \ \Big[_{NP} \ {}_{s}\begin{pmatrix}\text{Zhangsan yujian (-le)} & \text{nei ge ren} \\ \text{Zhangsan meet aspect marker} & \text{that Cl. man}\end{pmatrix}_{s} \ \begin{matrix}\text{nei ge ren} \\ \text{that Cl. man}\end{matrix} \ \Big] \rightarrow$$

Zhangsan yujian (-le) # nei ge ren nei ge ren →
— 14) Zhangsan yujian (-le) de nei ge ren.

But if the relative clause is formed on an NP which is neither subject (as in 12) = 4)) nor object (as in 14) = 5)) or, more precisely, if it is constructed on an NP which is marked by a preposition (cf. 16)), Ross' derivation fails to account for the following two facts :

1. the appearance of a pronominal copy of the relativized noun in the embedded clause
2. the fact that this pronominal copy is at the same place as that occupied by the relativized noun in the embedded sentence.

— 16) is a complex Noun Phrase : it is a relative clause formed on an indirect object marked by the preposition or co-verb *gei*.
give/to.
Ta is a pronoun which stands in exactly the same place as that occupied by the noun in the embedded S, as shown in 17).

— 16) Zhangsam *gei ta* song (-le) yi ben shu de
Zhangsan to him send aspect marker one Cl. book relative marker

The man to whom Zhangsan sent a book

nei ge ren
that Cl. man

17) (Zhangsan *gei nei ge ren* song (-le) yi ben shu
Zhangsan to that Cl. man send aspekt marker one Cl. book
S S

nei ge ren
that Cl. man

If we follow the derivation proposed above, we form 18), which gives an ungrammatical sequence 19) :

— 18) Zhangsan song (-le) yi ben shu # gei nei ge ren

nei ge ren →

— 19) *Zhangsan song (-le) yi ben shu) **de**
Zhangsan send aspect marker one Cl. book relative marker

nei ge ren.
that Cl. man

The comparison between 16) and 19) shows that relative clause formation in Nandarin Chinese is neither a chopping transformation[1] (at least if the embedded noun is a prepositional phrase[2] nor a movement rule. It can be noted, in passing, that the above given rule leads to correct utterances as in 12) =4) and 14) =5), but that the movement of the embedded constituent is not justified.

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[1] Chopping rules are defined by J. Ross (pp. 235—236) as follows : A chopping rule that moves a NP out of a constituent without leaving any trace. Its structural description and change can, for instance, read as :

1 2 3 4 →
1 ∅ 3 4+2
1 2+3 ∅ 4 etc ...

[2] In a relative clause formed on a FP, the embedded NP is copied if the NP is [+ Human] but chopped together with its preposition if the NP is [+ Human]. See M. Coyaud and M. C. Paris (1976), § 8.3142.

If Ross' rule allows for the derivation of relative clauses whose relativized nouns are not prepositional phrases because these nouns are chopped(they disappear from the embedded sentence without leaving any trace), it fails to account for relative clauses whose embedded nouns are PPs and which have to be derived by means of a copying rule[3]. The rule of relative clause formation in English is a chopping rule since, as can be seen in its structural change, 4 is moved from its original place and is replaced by ∅: it leaves no trace of its movement.

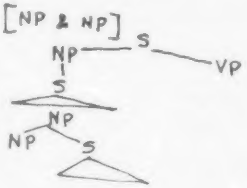
Relative clause formation in the two languages studied here has been characterized in terms of the application of different rules. Such rules constrain the grammars to which they belong in different ways.

After analyzing whether an NP can be moved out of the following structures :

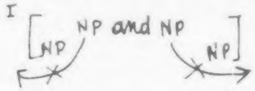
I Coordinate structures

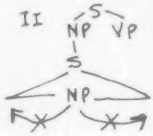
II Sentential subjects

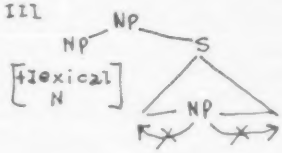
III Complex noun phrases



J. Ross comes to the following conclusions : chopping rules are subject to the coordinate structure constraint[4], the sentential subject constraint[5] and the complex NP constraint[6], while copying rules are not. The three above mentioned constraints state that no element can be moved out of the structures diagrammed below.







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[3] Chopping rules are distinguished from copying rules in the following way. A opying rule is a rule that moves a NP out of a constituent leaving a pronominal copy of the moved constituent. Its structural description and change can, for instance, read as :

1 2 3 4 →
1 2 3 4+2
1+2 2 3 4 etc...

[4] **Coordinate structure constraint.**

In a coordinate structure, no conjunct may be moved nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct.

[5] **Sentential subject constraint.**

No element dominated by an S may be moved out of that S if that node S is dominated by an NP which itself is immediately dominated by S.

[6] **Complex NP constraint.**

No element contained in a sentence dominated by a nounphrase with a lexical noun may be moved out of that noun-phrase by a transformation.

Examples of movement rules in English are question formation, topicalisation and relativization.

In 20) we have a coordinate structure. 21) is ill formed because an NP (books) has been taken out of the coordinate structure by means of question formation.

— 20) John bought books and pencils

— 21) *What did John buy and pencils ?

22) is grammatical while 23) is not because it violates the sentential subject constraint : an NP contained in the sentential subject (that movie) has been relativized.

— 22) That John went to see that movie bothered Mary

— 23) *That movie that that John went to see bothered Mary is good

24) is well formed but 25) is not because an NP (an overcoat) has been topicalized out of a complex NP.

— 24) I met the man who used to wear an overcoat

— 25) *An overcoat, I met the man who used to wear.

In Chinese the very same constraints hold. A noun cannot be taken out of a coordinate structure (see 27)). It can neither be taken out of a sentential subject (compare 28) and 29)) nor out of a complex NP (compare 30) and 31)).

— 26) Zhangsan mai -le nei xie shu gen bi
Zhangsan buy aspect marker that few book and pencil

Zhangsan bought those books and pencils

— 27) *Bi, Zhangsan mai -le nei xie shu gen
pencil Zhangsan buy aspect marker that few book and

In 27) topicalization has been applied.

— 28) Zhangsan qu kan nei ge dianying shi Mali
Zhangsan go see that Cl. movie cause Mali

That Zhangsan went to see that movie made Mali unhappy

bu gaoxing
negative marker happy

— 29) *Zhangsan qu kan shi Mali bu gaoxing de
Zhangsan go see cause Mali negative marker happy rel. cl. marker

that Cl. movie very hao
nei ge dianying hen good

In 29) we have a relative clause whose head noun belongs to a sentential subject.

— 30) Wo	yujian	-le	chuan	da	yi	de	nei	ge	ren
I	meet	aspect marker	wear	big	clothe	rel. cl. marker	that	Cl.	man

I saw the man who was wearing an overcoat

— 31) *Da	yi,	wo	yujian	-le	chuan	de	nei	ge	ren
big	clothe	I	meet	aspect marker	wear	rel. cl. marker	that	Cl.	man

The NP dayi has been topicalized out of a relative clause i.e.,
overcoat
a complex NP) giving 31), which is ill formed.

We showed above that, at least for prepositional phrases formed or a [+ Human] NP, (see 16)), the rule of relative clause formation in Chinese cannot be a chopping rule. It must be a copying rule. But, if an NP (*yi ben shu*) is taken out of 16) by topicalization or relati-
a book
vization the sentences we arrive at (32) and 33)) are ungrammatical.

— 16) Zhangsan	gei	ta	song	(-le)	yi	ben	shu	de
Zhangsan	to	him	send	aspect marker	one	Cl.	book	rel. cl. marker

The man to whom Zhangsan sent a book

nei	ge	ren . . .
that	Cl.	man

— 32) *Yi	ben	shu,	Zhangsan	gei	ta	song	(-le)	de
one	Cl.	book	Zhangsan	to	him	send	aspect marker	rel. cl. marker

nei	ge	ren . . .
that	Cl.	man

— 33) *Zhangsan	gei	ta	song	(-le)	de	nei	ge	ren
Zhangsan	to	him	send	aspect marker	rel. cl. marker	that	Cl.	man

de	yi	ben	shu . . .
rel. cl. marker	one	Cl.	book

These facts show that Ross' statement (copying rules are not subject to his constraints) is not justified. 16) is derived by the application of a copying rule but it obeys the complex NP constraint.

Now, we would like to propose a derivation of relative clauses which is valid across languages. If we follow L. Tesnière's suggestion (1959, pp. 560—561) : „C'est donc que le pronom relatif est un mot de *nature double* . . . nous réserverons le nom de *transférème* à l'élément du pronom relatif auquel incombe la fonction translative et le nom d'*anaphorème* à celui auquel incombe la fonction anaphorique", we can posit that the process of relativization is composed of two operations : nominalization („transférème) and anaphore ("anaphorème"). This means, that we consider relativization (in so far as the embedded NP is considered) as a copying rule. The embedded NP which is coreferential to the head of the relative clause is always pronominalized by anaphora. On the surface level it either remains as such, gets deleted or is amalgamated to the "transférème" according to language specific rules. The syntactic behavior of *that* in English, which is different from that of other relative pronouns, and the behavior of *de* in Mandarin lead us to support our hypothesis (namely that a relative clause is a nominalized clause).

Syntactic characteristics of that in English

Three tests that *that* is a relative pronoun different from the other relative pronouns :

a) It is well known that, apart from being a "relative pronoun", *that* is a deictic determiner and a sentence nominalizer. In object position both the relative pronoun and the sentence nominalizer behave alike : they are optional. See 34) and 35) :

— 34) I know (that) he will come

— 35) The movie (that) he saw . . .

b) Whereas relative pronouns can be preceded by prepositions *that* cannot

— 36)

$$\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{to}\\ \text{for}\\ \text{with}\\ \text{at}\\ \text{by}\end{matrix}\right\} \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{whom}\\ \text{which}\end{matrix}\right\} \quad * \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{to}\\ \text{for}\\ \text{with}\\ \text{at}\\ \text{by}\end{matrix}\right\} \text{that}$$

c) Whereas relative pronouns are also interrogative (cf. 37)) or indefinite pronous (with the adjunction of *ever*, cf. 38)), *that* can neither be an interrogative nor an indefinite pronoun.

— 37) Whom did you see ? / *That did you see ?

— 38) Whatever he did . . . *Thatever he did . . .

Syntactic characteristics de in Mandarin

The three tests below show that *de* functions as a nominalizer[7].

a) A non-nominal constituent followed by *de* is coordinated in the same way as nouns are. 39) and 40) are two examples of predicate

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[7] We owe some arguments of the present analysis to Zhu Dexi's excellent article "Guanyu "shuo *de*" ".

coordination (with *ye* and *you*) and 41) is an example of noun co-
also and
ordination (with *gen* or *he*).
and and

— 39) (Ye) hao ye huai *(ye) zhuozi ye yizi
also good also bad also table also chair
both good and bad

— 40) You hao you huai *you zhuozi you yizi
and good and bad and table and chair
both good and bad

— 41) Zhuozigen (he) yizi hao de (he) huai de
table and and chair good de and bad *de*
tables and chairs good ones and bad ones

b) The localizer *you* can be followed by nouns or by nomina-
there is
lized elements (as in 42)) but not by predicates.

— 42) You ren / you hao de
there is man there is good *de*
there is a man there is a good one

— 43) *You hao / *you huai
there is good there is bad

c) The copula *shi* can be followed either by a noun as in 44), or by
be
constituents followed by *de* [8] as in 45). In both cases adverbials behave alike; they must precede *shi* (46)—47)) but cannot follow it (48)—49)).

— 44) Ta shi Beijing ren
he be Peking man
He is from Peking

— 45) A gen B shi xiangtong de
A and B be similar *de*
A and B are similar

— 46) Ta zhen shi Beijing ren
he true be Peking man
He is really from Peking

— 47) A gen B zhen shi xiangtong de
A and B true be similar *de*
A and B are really similar

— 48) *Ta shi zhen Beijing ren
he be true Peking man

— 49) *A gen B shi zhen xiangtong de
A and B be true similar *de*

---

[8] The derivation of some *shi* Adjective *de* constructions is studied in N. Coyaud and M. C. Paris (1976), § 3.62.

All these facts support the hypothesis that *de* is a nominalizer.

Now that we have shown that the "relative markers" *that* and *de* are in fact nominalizers, we can propose another derivation for relative clauses.

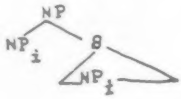
As a *first* stage in the process of relativization the embedded S is marked by a sentence nominalizer, that is a marker which is identical to the marker of clauses that are complements of nouns[9] (*that* in English and *de* in Mandarin), as in 50) and 51):

— 50) The fact that he didn't come

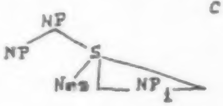
— 51) Women qu xuexiao de wenti
we go school nominalizer problem
The problem of our going to school

then the coreferential NP in the embedded S is pronominalized. These operations can be diagrammed as shown below A, B, and C.

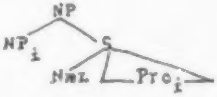
A



B



C



On the surface level, the pronoun is deleted in Mandarin if it is not preceded by a marker (see 4) = 12) and 5) = 14) and note 2); otherwise, it is kept (see 16)). The two rules (nominalization and pronominalization), which suffice to account for relative clauses in Mandarin[10] clearly do not account for relative clauses in English.

As a *second* stage in the process of relativization (and for languages where relativization, like question formation, is a movement transformation), we posit that a marker which corresponds to the marker of interrogation is attached to the pronominal copy of the head noun. The constituent thus formed is then moved to the first position in the

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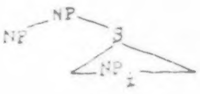
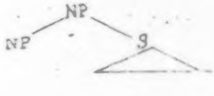
[9] The (dis)similarity between relative clauses and clauses that are complements of a Noun can be characterized as follows:





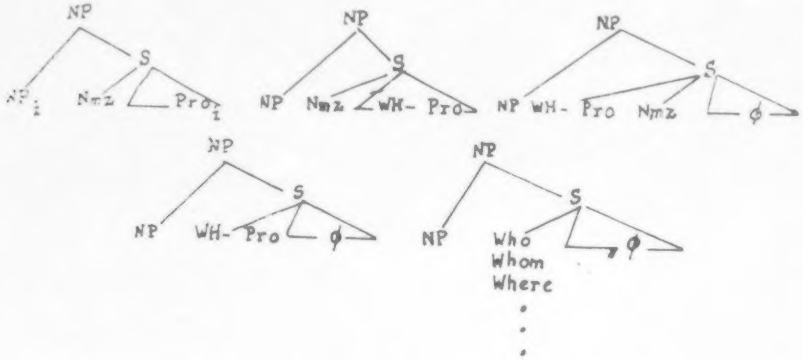
[10] These rules also account for relative clauses in non-standard French. In non-standard French, the relative clause marker is the invariable sentence nominalizer *que* and the embedded NP is always pronominalized, as exemplified below.

Non-standard French	*Standard French*
La personne *qu'elle* m'a dit...	La personne *qui* m'a dit...
La femme *que* je l'aime...	La femme *que* j'aime...
L'ami *que* je *lui* ai donné...	L'ami *à qui* j'ai donné...
L'endroit *que* tu *y* es allé...	L'endroit *où* tu es allé...

R. Kayne (1974—1975) show that the "relative pronoun" *que* is nothing else but the sentence nominalizer *que*.

embedded sentence causing the deletion of the nominalizer [11]. Furthermore the interrogative marker + the pronominal copy of the embedded NP are rewritten so as to give the relative pro-nouns of the language considered. For example : WH— + there → where.

This second stage can be summarized as follows.



We hope we have characterized the process of relative clause formation in English and Mandarin Chinese in a sufficiently general way. Relativization consists in two operations : one of nominalization and one of anaphora. Our analysis is in accord with that of. B. Benveniste (1966) : „...Le rôle du pronom [relatif] est le même, celui d'un déterminant, qu'il soit déterminant d'un terme nominal ou d'une phrase complète“ (p. 221). „...Le pronom relatif jous le rôle d'un „article syntaxique“ déterminatif“ (p. 222). The marker of relativization indicates — directly (in Mandarin) or indirectly (in English) — that the relative clause functions as an NP.

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[11] In non-standard French the nominalizer *que* is, not deleted after the movement of the constituent Qu + Pro (interrogative marker + pronominal copy of the embedded NP) since a sequence like :

L'endroit où que tu vas
is attested.

ASSPECTS OF REFLEXIVIZATION IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN

NORA TĂMAŞ and IOAN TĂMAŞ

The simple assumption that we shall proceed from here is that apparently *Reflexive* can be taken as a linguistic universal, i.e. an underlying feature characterized within linguistic theory, common to human language. For our purposes it is convenient to start from this assumption since both English and Romanian use Reflexive quite extensively.

Although some recent transformational approaches[1] have attempted to explain and enumerate vast series of well-formed reflexive sentences in English, involving a number of highly complex grammatical rules, throughout this paper we have simplified the discussion because such detailed representations would not be relevant to our point : language teaching.

Therefore it has to be pointed out that the following discussion is largely concerned with what today is called "surface grammar" as opposed to the now-current "deep-grammar". We start from the surface because, although the set of underlying rules which characterize English and Romanian reflexives may be basically identical, since they explain the same structure, their application is different.

Furthermore, the paper supports the idea that, in analyzing reflexives as well as many other structure, two separate formal systems are at work : the *syntactic* (or grammatical) and *the* semantic which are, however, related closely. Indeed, for teaching and translating purposes it is felt that the transformational opinion which holds that syntax is the basic structure of language and the semantic component has only an interpretive role, seems incomplete.

Rather we accept the idea that meaning is expressed in multitude of ways, among which are the syntactic, the phonological and the morphological.

Consequently, for an item to be considered a language form, it must have both a grammatical from and a semantic meaning. Given this view language, we may return to our topic and begin analyzing the *forms* of reflexives in both languages. English reflexives may be treated as compounds of personal pronouns (in their possessive and objective forms) and -self, -selves, attached to the singular and plural, respectively. First and second forms contain possessive forms (myself, yourself, ourselves etc.) ; the third person forms contain objective pronoun forms (himself, itself). The form *herself* may be treated as both possessive and objective. The element *-self* should be taken to be a noun-stem as it shows the nominal plural alteration : *self-selves*. Moreover, this stem occurs independently in phrases of the type : *her entire self was against that idea*, or *selfish*, *selfless* parallel to *childish*, *foolish*, *hopeless*, *endless*, etc.

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[1] See for example Paul M. Postal, Cross-Over Phenomena, New York, 1971.

English reflexives never occur as the main constituent of a noun phrase functioning as a subject (they are used only with verbs and after prepositions). However, they can serve as intensifiers as in : *I myself will speak about it*. In this function, the pronoun may serve to identify the whole sentence and may be moved to the end of the structure as in : *I will speak about it myself*.

In Romanian real reflexive forms occur with the third person exclusively and show both emphatic and nonemphatic forms in two cases only : dative and accusative.

	nonemphatic forms		*emphatic forms*
D.	își, și	D.	sie
A.	se		—

First and second person forms are built on the dative and accusative forms of personal pronouns. As a result, forms like *mi, mă, ți, te, ne, vă*, may have reflexive or nonreflexive reference. Consider for example the sentences :

(1) Mă despărții de prietenul meu
(2) Mă departi de prietenul meu.

In (1) the reflexive is signalled not by the pronoun *mă* but by its occurrence with *despărții*, both forms referring to the first person singular. In (2) we cannot speak about reflexive since *mă* refers to the second person singular. It becomes apparent that when both subject and object are first (or second) person, the construction is obviously reflexive. In the third person, however, reflexives have to be especialy marked. For example :

(3) Îl (o) desparți de prietenul său
(4) Se desparți de prietenul său

In (3) the construction is not reflexive whereas in (4) *se* marks the reflexive although no distinction regarding gender and number are made by this marker. They are specified by the subject. *Se*, the marker of Romanian reflexive, is translated into English by *himself, herself, itself, themselves*. The same translation holds good for *sine*, a marker used after prepositions (despre sine, pentru sine etc.) As it may be seen, the reflexive forms in the surface structure are quite different in the two languages.

Distributional Analysis of the Reflexive in English and Romanian. Just like Romanian and many other longuages, English makes use of the syntactic phenomenon called reflexivization which makes it possible for the forms of the reflexive pronouns to be used where a noun-phrase in the predication should repeat the subject within the same simple sentence. In other words, the English reflexive pronouns self/selves are required replacements for a noun or pronoun when the second noun or pronoun in the same sentence is identical with the first, or has the same referent as the first noun or pronoun in the sentence.

* The man found the man before that door

(5) The man found himself before the door

Reflexivization does not occur in English when two co-referential identical noun-phrases are not within the same sentence.

In the following example we are actually dealing with two sentences

(6) We told ourselves. We should not waste our time.

The second *we* is the subject of the second sentence and not a reflexive as *ourselves*.

Examples 8, 10, 12 illustrate that the identity of the reflexive with the person to which it refers is compulsory [2]. Examples 7, 9, 11, do not include reflexive constructions :

(7) He saw him
(8) He saw himself
(9) Tom's mother took care of her
(10) Tom's mother took care of herself
(11) That was the man who wrote him a letter
(12) That was the man who wrote himself a letter

If we consider he two sentences in (12) *himself* in the latter might seem to refer to *the man* in the former. However the second sentence may be derived from

(13) That was the man
The man wrote himself a letter

It becomes now obvious that *himself* can only refer to *the man* in the second sentence where it was replaced by *who* and not to *the man* in the first sentence. Thus, it has once more been demonstrated that the English reflexive cannot be used to refer to a noun in another sentence.

We met Mary. One cannot say :

* Herself was walking quietly, instead of :

She was walking quietly or one cannot say : Mary's friend protected herself instead of :

Mary's friend protected her.

There are in English some verbs — although not many — that in certain situations require the use of reflexive forms. Such verbs are : bestir, behave, pride, perjure a.s.o. Examples :

(14) Martin bestirred himself to open the door
(15) Martin behaved himself
(16) Martin absented himself from the task

In Romanian the use of the reflexive is much the same. Sentences (7) — (12) can be translated into Romanian by pronominal or reflexive substitutions :

(17) El l-a vâzut
(18) El se vâzu

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[2] We do not discuss here the use of the reflexive in examples of the type : *Look at yourself*, parallel to *look at you* or *Martin has many books about himself* parallel to *Martin has many books about him. We met Mary* One cannot say :

(19) Mama lui Tom a îngrijit-o

(20) Mama lui Tom s-a îngrijit

(21) Acela a fost omul care i-a scris o scrisoare

(22) Acela a fost omul care și-a scris o scrisoare

Like English, Romanian does not allow the use of reflexives as subject pronouns. So we say :

(23) Maria intră în cameră. *Se* admiră o clipă și ieși

(24) Maria ieși în oraș. *Își* cumpără o carte și se plimbă

Neither *se* nor *își* can function as subjects. The situation is identical in English where *herself* cannot function as a subject either.

(25) Mary stepped into the room. * Herself admired in the mirror and went out.

(26) Mary went to town. * Herself bought a book and walked.

One essential point of the departure between the languages is the fact that Romanian has a very considerable number of verbs which require reflexive forms : a se abține, a se învecina, a se căi, a-și bate joc, a se insera, a se bucura, a se teme etc.

Moreover, a number of English intransitive verbs are translated into Romanian with reflexives :

(27) Mary wondered whether John was right.
(Maria se întreabă dacă Ion are dreptate)

(28) They all stood up when the president walked in
(Se ridicară cu toți la intrarea presedintelui)

(29) She used to think of him quite a lot
(Se gîndea la el foarte mult)

Romanian also uses the reflexive in some specific constructions which are again not matched by the reflexive in English since the latter uses transitive verbs here as in :

(30) Își sparse paharul (He broke his glass)

(31) Își pierdu oile (He lost his sheep)

Agent deletion, unmarked for reflexive in English, is marked as such in Romanian :

(32) Cămașa aceasta nu se calcă usor (This shirt doesn't iron)

(33) Cartea lui nu se traduce usor (His book does not translate easily)

(34) Cartea lui nu se vinde (His book does not sell)

This contrast is also meant to point out that the use of English reflexives is restricted to animate subjects whereas Romanian is not.

Another construction where Romanian uses the reflexive is the one indicating voluntary actions. Here again English does not use the reflexive :

(35) Maria se făcu profesoară (Mary became a teacher)

(36) El se urcă pe munte ca să vadă panorama (He climbed up the mountain to see the landscape)

(37) Se spălară pe mîini înainte de masă (They washed their hands before dinner)

The same difference is noticed in impersonal constructions of the type.

(38) Se angajează dactilografe (We hire typists)

(39) Se zice că se munceste mult acolo (They say people work hard there).

(40) Nu se repară frigidere in atellerul acesta (They don't repair refrigerators in this shop)

In such sentences Romanian can do without subjects but English cannot.

The investigation of surface differences might continue but this would go far beyond the purpose of this paper.

Instead we propose to discuss from the point of view of structural transfer some of the problems that Romanian learners must overcome in their study of English.

One first observation refers to a less difficult problem namely, that the *form* of reflexive pronouns is totally different in the two languages and has to be mastered thoroughly before any syntactic cnostruction is studied. In this connection, an essential contrastive point is that English uses reflexive markers for all persons not just for the third person as in Romanian. Moreover, Romanians have to keep gender (in the singular) and number distinct in the third person forms.

Thus the form *se* will have in English no less than four equivalents : himself, herself, itself, and themselves.

At his stage another problem has to be pointed out : English does not use distinct forms for verbs and prepositions the way Romanian does. The form *isi* in the dative and *sine* after preposition are translated into English with the same form :

(41) Isi cumpără o carte (He bought himself a book)

(42) A cumpărat-o pentru sine (He bought it for himself)

Another observation refers to the fact that the English reflexive is restricted to animate subjects. To express the wide range of meanings expressed in Romanian by means of reflexive patterns. English uses other constructions which do not involve reflexivization.

Thus, when the goal is emphasized as opposed to the agent, English uses either *be-passive* or *got-passive*.

Thus the sentence.

Ferestrele se inchiseră cu zgomot translates :

The windows were closed noisily or

The windows got closed noisily or, of course, if the verb *close* is used intransitively

(43) The windows closed noisily but not : the windows closed themselves noisily as it might occur in grammar — equivalence translation.

Another problem for Romanian students of English is the agent deletion in constructions such as :

(44) Our cars sell rapidly where the object becomes the subject.

Very often our students tend to use a reflexive in such cases.

Furthermore, indefinite reference in Romanian is specified with the marker *se* — reflexive, whereas English requiring a subject, makes use of either the supjective form of some personal pronouns or of the word —people— as in :

(45) They (people) say it's usually cold in that part of the country.
or a passive construction :

(46) It is said that it is cold in that part of the country.

Another problem might be the association of English possessives with some Romanian possessive verbs which occur with dative pronouns :

Thus :

(47) Își rupse piciorul translates : He broke his leg. or He had his leg broken.

Maybe the most frequent error is committed when, owing to the structure transfer, certain English transitive verbs are marked with the reflexive by Romanian students. There are quite a few instances when sentences like :

(48) Se trezi devreme

(49) Se prefăcu că nu intelege

(50) Se opri in fața casei are erroneosly translated into English with the reflexive.

A remark can be made regarding a word-order problem :

If in Romanian a reflexive pronoun can be placed ahead of its antecedent, in English, such a shift is never possible. Thus a sentence like :

(51) Se căsni să-i ajute pe ceilalți, săraca femeie.
will never have a structure equivalent of the type

* Herself exerted to help the others, the poor woman, instead of the normal : *The poor woman exerted herself to help the others*, because in English the subject has to be stated before it can be used as an antecedent to a reflexive.

A final observation refers to keeping away from using reflexives in English when reciprocal expressions are translated.

It is not infrequent that our students erroneously translate a sentence like :

(52) Se văzură la gară with a reflexive :
They saw themselves at the station instead of using *each-other* or *one-another*.

It is obvious that the transfer problems regarding the reflexive in the two languages could be further extended. However, this is not the purpose of this paper. Some of the contrasts presented in it are meant to point out that reflexives do present some learning problems that Romanian students are expected to overcome in their study of English. The contrastive analysis above has selected and discussed especially those aspects which can most clearly illustrate the tendency of Romanian students to use reflexives in English excessively in places where they are actually avoided by native speakers.

A CONTRASTIVE SEMANTICO-SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF PSEUDO REFLEXIVE VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN

HENRY NIEDZIELSKI

Introduction

Reflexive pronouns are so commonly used in most European languages that they have interested many grammarians of various schools. Of course, descriptions or explanations have varied with the evolution of linguistics, and most recent studies have utilized the transformational — generative theory of language.

In the last three years, Fillmore's case grammar has been the framework utilized by Jan Schroten for Spanish (1972). Concerning the Deep Structures of Spanish Reflexive Sentences. The Hague, Mouton), by Weber Donaldson for French (1973). French Reflexive Verbs : A Case Grammar Description. The Hague, Mouton), by Henry Niedzielski for Polish (1976). Polish and English Pseudo-Reflexives. Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics, vol. 4 Poznan and Washington, Center for Applied Linguistics), by Henry Niedzielski for French, Italian and Spanish (1974). La Sémantique générative et les verbes pronominaux. Naples, XIV Congresso Internazionale di Linguistica e Filologia Romanza), and, most relevant to this present study, by Brigita Vişan —Neuman for Romanian (1972). A Contrastive Analysis of Reflexive Constructions in English and Romanian. Bucharest University Press, as well as, in a modified version and likewise for Romanian, Gabriela Pană Dindelegan (1974). Sintaxa transformaţională a grupului verbal în limba română. Bucharest, Editura Academiei).

Thus, thanks to this unified approach, a comparison across languages is becoming more and more feasible. In addition, the case grammar offers us the possibility of exploring the universality of some lexical and structural features present in some very deep structures representing a common conceptual reality interpreted differently as unique surface forms.

Rather than giving an exhaustive listing of various reflexive and pseudo-reflexive constructions in English and Romanian, the main purpose of this paper is to propose a simplified but systematic analysis of the process generating English and Romanian reflexive surface constructions out of non reflexive semantic bases and vice versa. Various reflexive transformations have already been described by Lees & Klima (1963), Jacobs & Rosenbaum (1968), Postal (1969), Kuno (1972) and others and they can be referred to.

The approach used here is based on a semantic analysis of over eight hundred Romanian verbs or expressions and their English translation. Six classes of "reflexive" and "pseudo-reflexive" verbs are established : Total Reflexive, Part Reflexive, Benefactive, Reciprocal, Passive and Occurring. For each class, a semantic representation is provided first in a drawing then through trees in a case grammar framework similar to that of Fillmore. These semantic considerations are followed by a description of the underlying structures and then the surface structures.

Definitions

Genuine Reflexive Verbal Constructions :

Any transitive verb phrase in which the so-called reflexive pronoun se, işi, — self (or any variant) is a pronominalized deep structure NP returning or "reflecting" the action back onto the subject which performs the action. In other words, deep structure subject and complement are identical.

Ex : I wash myself or Mă spăl.

Pseudo-Reflexive Verbal Constructions :

Any Romanian verb phrase whose "reflexive pronoun" is found not to be reflexive in the deep structure. These "pseudo-reflexives" are both very numerous and very frequently used. A preliminary statistical analysis revealed that one out of three verbs listed in bilingual pocket dictionaries is accompanied by a reflexive pronoun, which represents an average of 7% of all Romanian words, the highest frequency for all the major Romance languages.

Ex : Se strigă = They shout out.

In English, the opposite tendency is very strong. Even verbs which should be marked for reflexiveness appear in the surface structure without any reflexive pronoun, for example "I wash" instead of "I wash myself". They are often called pseudo intransitives. A statistical analysis of three texts of different sociolinguistic levels confirmed the extremely low frequency of reflexive constructions : 13 out of 10 000 words.

In addition to these superficially unmarked semantically reflexive verb phrases, there are also some English verbal constructions whose surface "reflexive pronoun" is found not to be correferential with the deep structure subject.

Ex : To oversleep oneself = A nu se trezi la timp.

Syntactic considerations

Having observed that the English non reflexive or pseudo-reflexive constructions corresponding to the Romanian reflexive ones were not all identical or similar, it was thought that a list or a table showing the correspondences between the two languages might be helpful to the translator or the learner of either language. The following structures translate most Romanian reflexive constructions and deserve our attention :

1. Transitive Verb + — *self*
   I wash myself.
   Mă spăl.

2. Transitive Verb + possessive + NP
   I wash my hands.
   Îmi spăl mîinile.

3. $$\begin{bmatrix}\text{Transitive Verb}\\ \text{Have, get, take}\end{bmatrix} + \text{— self} + \begin{bmatrix}\text{NP}\\ \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{NP}\\ \text{Past Participle}\end{matrix}\right\}\end{bmatrix}$$

   He bought himself a car. He got himself a car.
   He got himself killed.
   Şi-a cumpărat o maşină.

4. Transitive Verb + (prep)+each other, one another
   Andrew and Daniel are hitting each other.
   Andrei şi Daniel se bat.

5. $$\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{be, feel}\\ \text{become, get}\end{matrix}\right\} + \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Past Participle}\\ \text{Adjective}\end{matrix}\right\}$$

   The church is seen from far away.
   Se vede o biserică de departe.

6. $$\begin{bmatrix}\text{two word verb}\\ \text{come, go, grow, turn, wear}\end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix}\emptyset\\ \text{Adjective}\end{bmatrix}$$

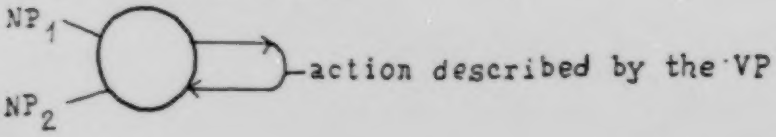
   They shout out.
   Se strigă.

Semantic considerations

Since the actions, events or states described in both languages are identical, some non linguistic semantic representations might afford the clearest picture of the abstract concepts at the basis of the linguistic expressions we wish to analyse and interpret.

For each of the six sets of surface structures discovered through the syntactic analysis, a picture is drawn to define the relationship among the deep structure VP and the various NP

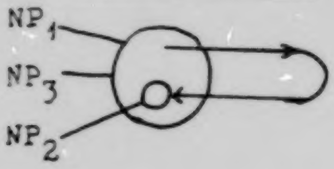
1. Total Reflexive:



The action is instigated and performed by NP_1, it is also completely reflected onto NP_1 or NP_2 which is identical with NP_1.

I wash myself.	* eu spăla eu.
Mă spăl.	* i wash i

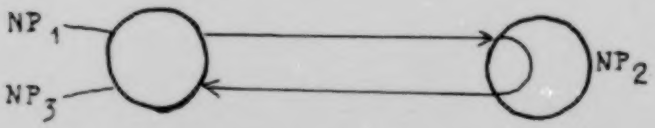
2. Part Reflexive:



The action is instigated and performed by NP_1, it is reflected onto NP_2 which is a part or an "inalienable possession" of NP_3. NP_3 NP_1.

I wash my hands.
Îmi spăl miinile.

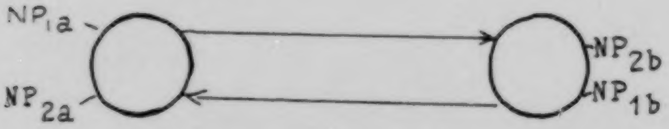
3. Benefactive:



The action is instigated and performed by NP_1, NP_2, is a kind of passive object or person used by NP_1, for its own benefit ($NP_3 \equiv NP_1$), which may be advantageous or detrimental (like in the case of He got himself a wife).

He bought himself a car.
Și-a cumpărat o mașină.

4. Reciprocal:

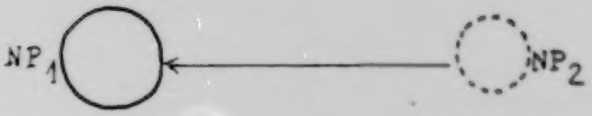


The action is initiated more or less simultaneously by two or more instigators or groups of instigators each acting upon the other. All the actants are both agents and patients.

Andrew and Daniel are hitting each other.
Andrei și Daniel se bat.

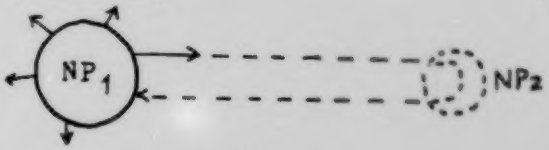
Most Romanian pseudo-reflexives probably belong to this group. One will notice that the circle representing NP$_2$ is in dotted line, this is because NP$_2$ is not always expressed. Whenever the instigator of the action is unknown, not clearly perceived or conceived, not observable, or unmentionable the empty marker *se* is inserted into the structure instead of the real agent.

5. Passive:



The church is seen from far away.
Se vede o biserică de departe.

6. Occurring:



In this set we find situations where NP$_1$ seems to cause or undergo a change or yet to perform an action more or less independently of any NP$_2$. In fact, NP$_2$ is optional, its existence is unessential ; for that reason it remains unexpressed. The action seems to be intransitive, in itself for itself. I named these verbs "occurring" because they all express an activity which occurs, *i. e.* which takes place or happens, by itself.

Usually, they are dynamic and sometimes conative. Quite often, these occurring verbs are two-word verbs in English, their postposition indicates the direction of the movement (down, up or out, as represented in our drawing).

He wakes up at seven.
(El) se trezește la ora șapte.
He completely broke down.
S-a frînt complet.
They shout out.
Se strigă.

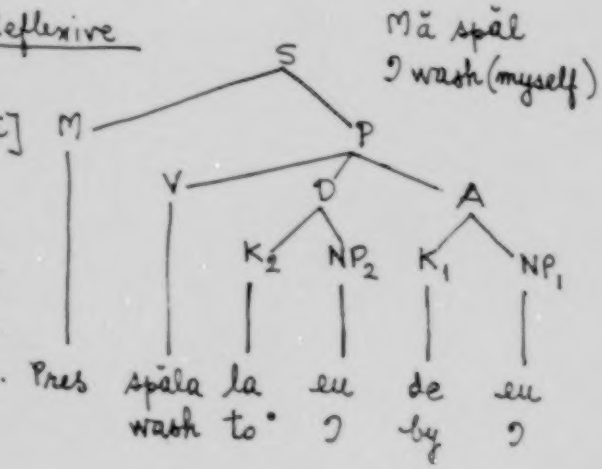
The dotted NP_2 and action line suggest the possibility that the occurring action might become a benefactive if the emphasis is switched from the action itself to the result.

Underlying structures and transformations

After having seen how different are the various English structures corresponding to Romanian pseudo-reflexives, we have observed that the prelinguistic semantic representations are the same for both languages. The link between these identical representations and their divergent surface interpretations can be illustrated through underlying structures reflecting the status of deep structure intercomponential relationship after the application of certain transformations. Fillmore's framework, as expounded in "The Case for Case", is probably the most suitable to show these correspondences because it depends less on surface structures and provides with its modality a very useful tool to generate various linguistic interpretations of the same reality.

1. Total Reflexive

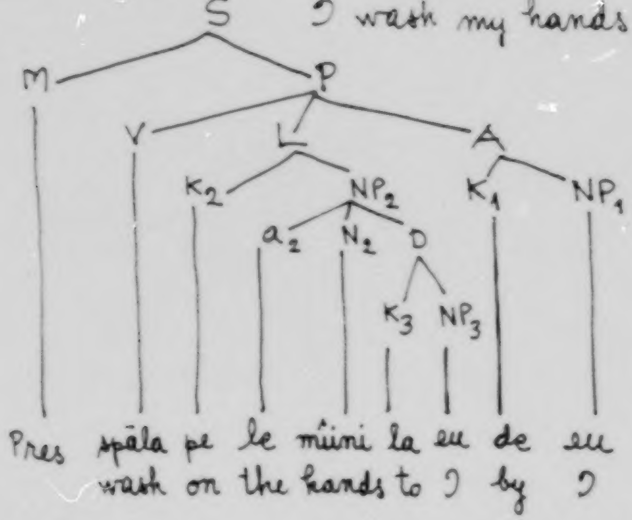
$S \rightarrow MP$
$M \rightarrow [\text{present}]$
$P \rightarrow VDA$
$A \rightarrow K_1 NP_1$
$D \rightarrow K_2 NP_2$
$NP_1 = NP_2$.



This concept is absolutely identical in both languages. Possible difficulties may result only from the fact that English avoids semantic redundancy in pseudo intransitives of the type "I wash".

2. Part Reflexive

Îmi spăl mîinile
I wash my hands.


S
M
P
V
L
A
K_2
NP_2
K_1
NP_1
a_2
N_2
D
K_3
NP_3
Pres spăla pe le mîini la eu de eu
wash on the hands to I by I

$S \rightarrow MP$ $L \rightarrow K_2 NP_2$

$M \rightarrow$ [present] $NP_2 \rightarrow a_2 N_2 D$

$P \rightarrow VLA$ $D \rightarrow K_3 NP_3$

$A \rightarrow K_1 NP_1$ NP_3 is a part of NP_1

Most frequently, English permutates the dative to the front of the directly dominating NP and changes it onto the possessive determiner. In Romanian the following constructions are quite common and seem to have equal status :

Ion și-a spălat mina.

with the dative form of the reflexive pronoun (like in our next category called benefactive) and

Ion s-a spălat pe mină.

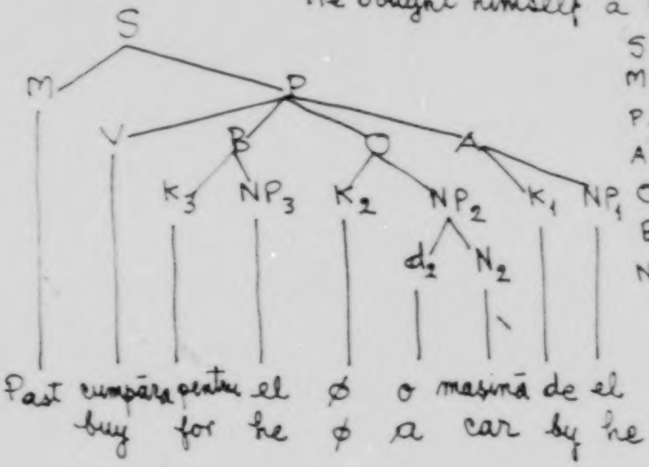
Other possible transformations generating surface structures with other constituents being emphasized are adequately described by Vișan — Neuman (1972 : 134—145).

Whenever the objective case is occupied by an animate patient, it is conceived as an "ergative initiator" or "non immediate causer" (Ikegami : 1969). For instance, in the sentences :

M-am făcut angajat
= I got myself hired.

3. Benefactive

Şi-a cumpărat o maşină.
He bought himself a car.



$S \rightarrow MP$
$M \rightarrow [Past]$
$P \rightarrow VBOA$
$A \rightarrow K_1 NP_1$
$O \rightarrow K_2 NP_2$
$B \rightarrow K_3 NP_3$
$NP_2 \rightarrow d_2 N_2$

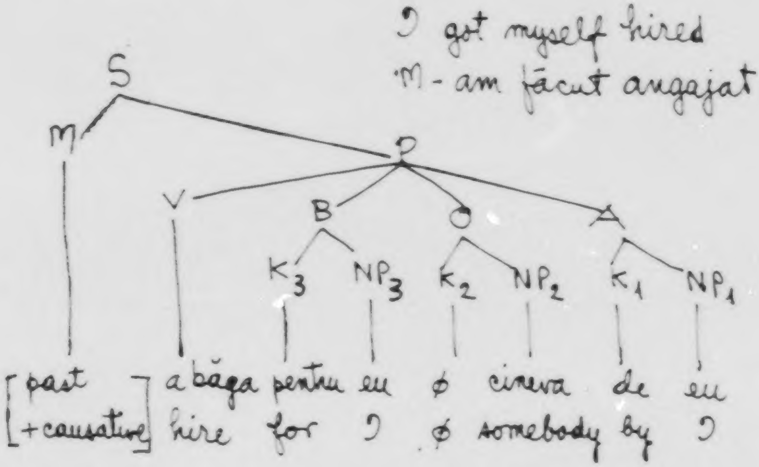
the "agentive initiator" is *Eu* or *I* who plays the most active role although obviously it does not perform the hiring. The unspecified employer is an ergative initiator because it is the object, or ergatum, of the main causative predication :

L-am făcut pe cineva...
I caused somebody...

At the same time, the "ergatum" or "object" is the subject of the downgraded predication

...cineva m-a angajat.
...somebody hired me.

The employer "somebody" or "cineva" is an "ergative initiator", or non-voluntary initiator. *Eu* or *I* is now a beneficiary of the action it initiated voluntarily. The result is that both Romanian and English underlying structures contain correferential Benefactive and Agent, which is reflected in the respective surface structures through a reflexive pronoun.



I got myself hired
M-am făcut angajat

$S \rightarrow MP$ $\quad A \rightarrow K_1 NP_1$

$M \rightarrow [past + causative]$ $\quad O \rightarrow K_2 NP_2$

$P \rightarrow VBOA$ $\quad B \rightarrow K_3 NP_3$

The class of verbs called [+ Excessive] by Vişan-Neuman (1972, 127) probably is a subgroup of benefactives. They have the general meaning of damaging oneself by doing an action to excess and are formed by prefixing the verb with the preposition *over* They cannot be translated literally into Romanian in which they generally are not marked for reflexiveness.

To oversleep oneself = a nu se trezi la timp
with the underlying meaning of

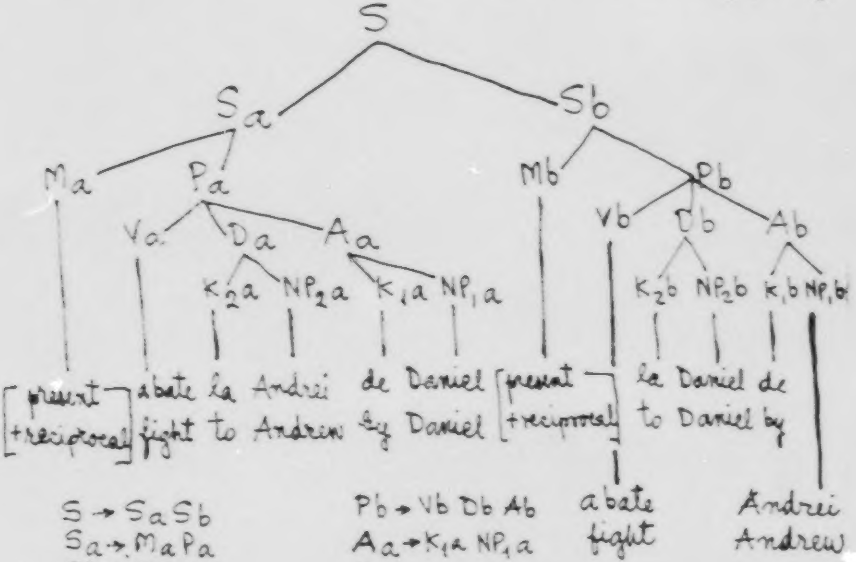
"to sleep too much for one's own good".

Another example cited by Vişan-Neuman (157) and belonging to this class of benefactive is :

He shouted himself hoarse.

4. Reciprocal

Andrei şi Daniel se bat
Andrew and Daniel are fighting


S
Sa
Sb
Ma
Pa
Mb
Pb
Va
Da
Aa
Vb
Db
Ab
K_2a
NP_2a
K_1a
NP_1a
K_2b
NP_2b
K_1b
NP_1b
[present +reciprocal]
a bate fight
la to
Andrei Andrew
de by
Daniel Daniel
[present +reciprocal]
la to
Daniel Daniel
de by
a bate fight
Andrei Andrew

S → Sa Sb
Sa → Ma Pa
Sb → Mb Pb
Ma → [pres. + reciprocal]
Mb → [pres. + reciprocal]
Pa → Va Da Aa

Pb → Vb Db Ab
Aa → K_1a NP_1a
Da → K_2a NP_2a
Ab → K_1b NP_1b
Db → K_2b NP_2b

He shouted until he became hoarse.
A strigat pînă a răguşit.

Sentences labeled as "reciprocal" do not represent simplex sentences, but rather a conflation of two simplex sentences showing correferentiality between component NP . The action being symmetrical and the modality identical in the two simplex kernel sentences, the compound sentence may be represented through the following underlying structure obtained after Node Raising and Gapping. (Maling : 1972).

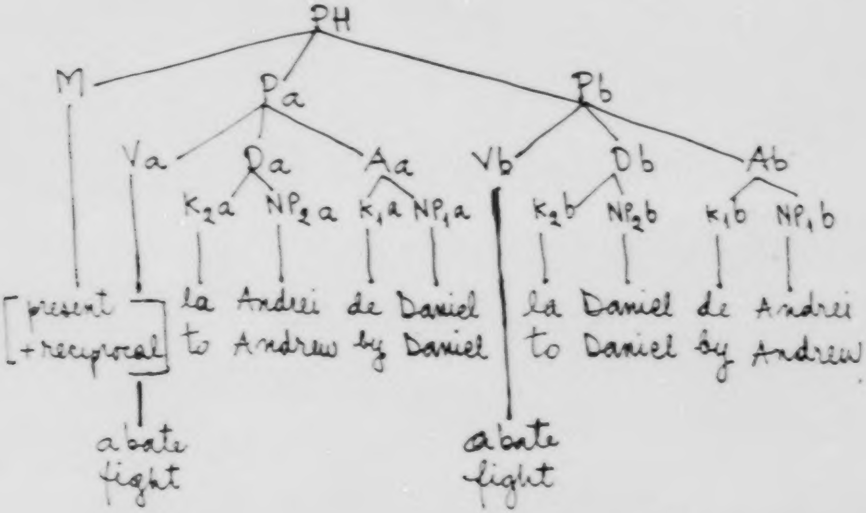
The reciprocal feature of modality states the obligatory requirement that whenever a NP is chosen of Pa to occupy the corresponding position in Pb or relation with Vb.

Ex: Da is chosen and so is DB.

Andrei este bătut de Daniel + Daniel este bătut de Andrei.

Andrew is hit by Daniel + Daniel is hit by Andrew.

In addition to this type of sentential conjunction where two distinct underlying strings are conjoined, another type of conjunction might explain structures like :


PH
M
Pa
Pb
Va
Da
Aa
Vb
Db
Ab
K2a
NP2a
K1a
NP1a
K2b
NP2b
K1b
NP1b
[present
+reciprocal]
la
to
Andrei
Andrew
de
by
Daniel
Daniel
la
to
Daniel
Daniel
de
by
Andrei
Andrew
a bate
fight
a bate
fight

$S \rightarrow M\,P_a\,P_b$

$M \rightarrow [\text{present} + \text{reciprocal}]$

$P_a \rightarrow V_a\,D_a\,A_a$

$P_b \rightarrow V_b\,D_b\,A_b$

$A_a \rightarrow K_1a\;NP_1a$

$D_a \rightarrow K_2a\;NP_2a$

$A_b \rightarrow K_1b\;NP_1b$

$D_b \rightarrow K_2b\;NP_2b$

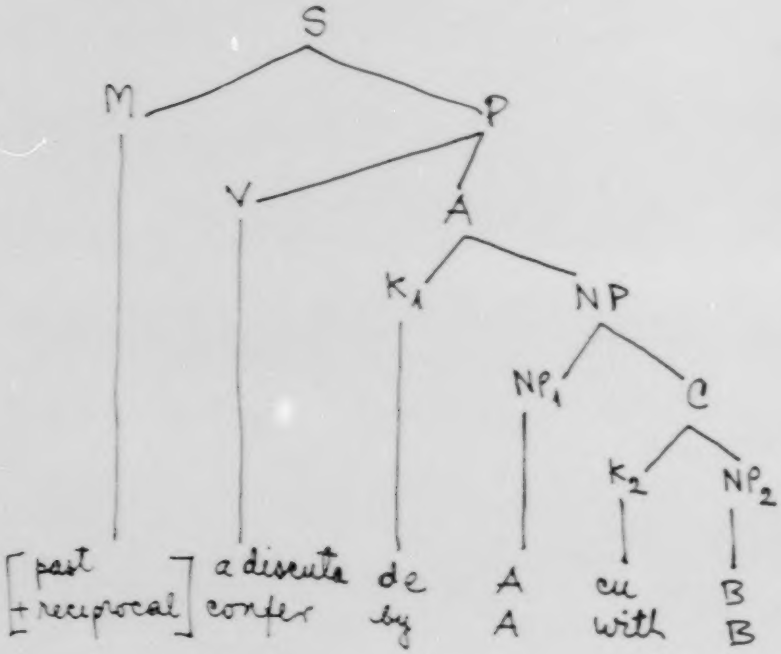
A și B au discutat (unul cu altul).

A and B conferred (with each other).

This type is phrasal rather than sentential and is generally called commitative (Fillmore : 1968, Vișan-Neuman : 1972, Donaldson : 1973). I will attempt to prove, however, in another article that this type is not necessary as it is possible to derive all reciprocals from sentential conjunction (cf. Pană Dindelegan : 1974, 93—113).

If C remains inside the NP_1 the entire A becomes the subject. If C becomes a constituent of P, we obtain

A conferred with B
or A a discutat cu B


S
M
P
V
A
K_1
NP
NP_1
C
K_2
NP_2
[past
+ reciprocal]
a discuta
confer
de
by
A
A
cu
with
B
B

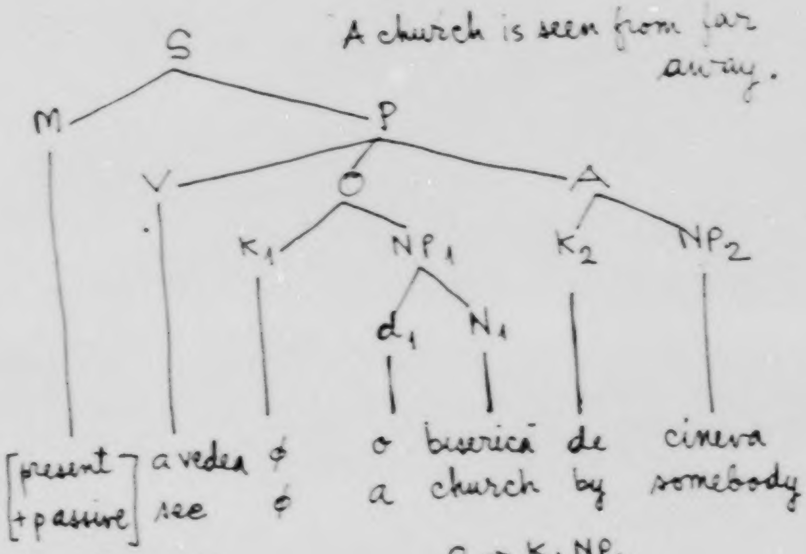
$S \rightarrow MP$
$M \rightarrow [\text{past} + \text{reciprocal}]$
$P \rightarrow VA$
$A \rightarrow K_1\ NP$
$NP \rightarrow NP_1\ C$
$C \rightarrow K_2\ NP_2$

The reciprocal transformation inserting the reciprocal each other, one another or unul, altul, celălalt is optional for verbs containing the semantic marker [+ Reciprocal]. This is the reason why in English "A met B" and "A and B met", are used rather than "A and B met each other".

5. Passive

Se vede o biserică de departe.

A church is seen from far away.



$S \rightarrow MP$

$M \rightarrow [\text{present} + \text{passive}]$

$P \rightarrow VOA$

$O \rightarrow K_1 NP_1$

$A \rightarrow K_2 NP_2$

Comparing the surface structure sentences of Romanian and English with a common underlying structure [V+O+(A)] Vişan-Neuman (1972 : 127—133) noticed that English sentences with passive verbs have among other equivalents in Romanian constructions with reflexive pronouns :

> Many interesting opinions were put forward at the conference yesterday.
>
> = La conferinţa de ieri s-au expus multe păreri interesante.

By marking modality for passiveness or intransitivity it is possible to generate out of the unique case frame [V+O+A] apparently different surface structure sentences like

The book reads easily.
and The book is easily read.
or Cartea este citită cu uşurinţă.
and Cartea se citeşte cu uşurinţă.

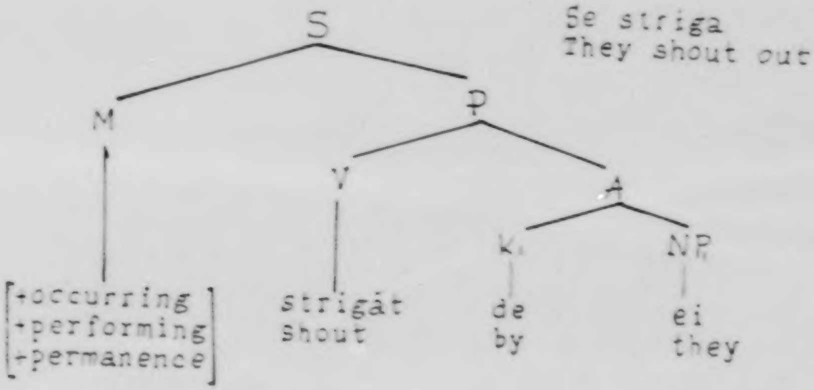
The feature indicated for modality clearly shows that a single objective reality may be perceived in more than one subjective manner. Instead of having an optional (A) like Vişan-Neuman, I suggest like Schroten (1972 : 67—68) an obligatory [A] which is a fully unspecified human. The modality feature [+ passive] indicates that [O] must be chosen to perform the function of subject. It seems that this form of passive emphasizes a semantic characteristic of the object. In the example above, the book possesses an inherent quality of easy reading independently from any agent or any reader.

6. **Occurring :**

This class includes only single argument predications or semantically intransitive verbal constructions and several subgroups can be recognized. Their additional common features distinguishing them from other classes of pseudo reflexives indicate that they describe activities or dynamic events which are self contained. Whenever these "occurring" features appear in modality, the subject is not extraposed but copied.

The most numerous subgroups are probably the following :

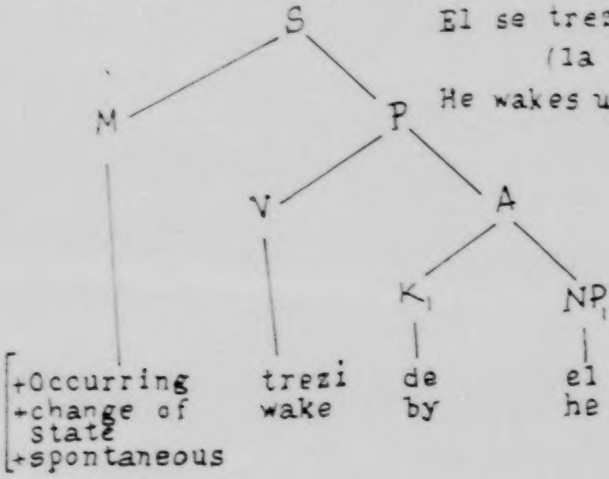
6.1. performing (or emissive because NP_1's activity seems to radiate and spread out).



$S \rightarrow MP$
$M \rightarrow$ [+occurring, + performing, + permanence]
$P \rightarrow VA$
$A \rightarrow K_1\ NP_1$

After copying the subject, we apply in Romanian the reflexivization transformation. To keep the subject unmentioned, two additional transformations are used : subject deletion and person neutralization resulting in an impersonal form. In English, an action language, the redundant NP is deleted and, instead, the directional preposition *out* is introduced.

6.2. change of state.



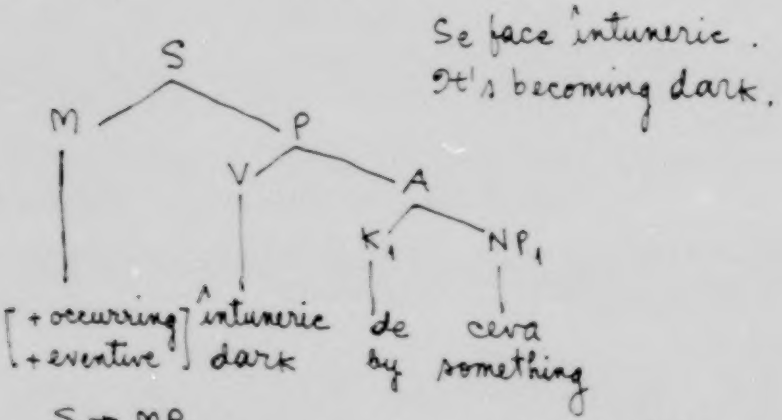
El se trezeşte
(la ora şapte)
He wakes up (at seven)

S→ MP
M→ [+Occurring, + Change of state, + Spontaneous]
P→ VA
A→ K_1, NP_1

The main difference between these spontaneous change-of-state verbs and other occurring verbs appearing with a single NP in the deep structure seem to lie in the fact that they may have different emphases when they appear with more than one NP in the deep structure. "He wakes himself up would be reflexive" ; "He is awaken" passive.

6.3. eventive.

Vişan-Neuman's class of eventive sentences, including sentences with such predicates as "become, get, go, grow, turn, run", and „a deveni" and „a se face" respectively probably belongs to this category of occurring.



Se face întuneric.
It's becoming dark.

$S \rightarrow MP$

$M \rightarrow [\text{occurring} + \text{eventive}]$

$P \rightarrow VA$

$A \rightarrow K_1\ NP_1$

The [+ eventive] feature of modality introduces an inchoative or dynamic verb (a copula unless othervise specified). Like for "performing occurring" verbs, these eventives may form verbs on substantival (strigăt = shout) or adjectival bases (întuneric = dark).

Conclusion

To sum up the previous observations,

1. all Romanian reflexive surface structure sentences are not semantically reflexive.
2. most English semantically reflexive sentences are not marked for reflexiveness.
3. a variety of English surface structure constructions correspond to the Romanian surface structure reflexive construction ;
4. these interlinguistic differences being essentially syntactic, a generative semantic approach proves to be very helpful to translate from Romanian into English or vice versa.
5. in the generative process, a fundamental difference may be observed between English and Romanian. English deletes redundancies while Romanian, and other Romance languages, preserve from left to right within sentences all or most information already acquired.

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MORE ON ENGLISH TENSE AND SLAVIC ASPECT

RALPH E. WEBER

Both Slavic aspect and English tense have received a great deal of attention in the literature. Contrastive and non-contrastive analyses have discussed extensively the syntax, semantics, and morphology of tense and aspect. Thus far, however, contrastive analyses have largely been confined to describing the categories' different uses or sense. This practice is, no doubt, an inheritance from the approach taken in individual grammars of the languages. For example, Zandvoort in his *Handbook of English Grammar* distinguishes a "continuative perfect," a "resultative perfect," and a "perfect of experience" (Zandvoort 1962 : 61), all formed the same way in English and all called a present perfect tense. A similar approach is taken in grammars of Slavic languages, where tense and aspect interreact to give a number of surface uses.

In this paper I would like to look at more abstract analyses of English tense and Slavic aspect, specifically in Serbo-Croatian, and to try to find a deeper semantic basis for some frequently cited similarities and differences between the tense and aspect systems fo the two languages, viz. of English and Serbo-Croatian. I shall begin by reviewing McCawley's proposal for the abstract semantic representation of the perfect in English, and extend it to the progressive tenses. Then I'll examine one possible analysis of aspect, using concepts of "go into state," "be in state," and "go out of state." Finally I shall contrast English and Serbo-Croatian and point out several areas where the categories under discussion correspond and some areas where they do not, with two aims in mind : one, to show that a deeper semantic analysis is possible, and two, to demonstrate that an approach comparing surface uses is in many respects inadequate, so that a more abstract analysis is in fact preferable.

McCawley (1971), continuing earlier work by Ross in which auxiliaries in English are reinterpreted as main verbs (Ross 1969), has proposed an analysis of English tense in terms of underlying propositional functions. He views the English perfect tenses as being derived from a kind of embedded past tense. These embedded pasts differ from simple past tenses in that they, the embedded pasts, express only "priorness" to something else. For example, a simple past tense such as that found in (1) localizes the event in the past, and such sentences can take adverbs specifying just when the event took place, as in (2).

(1) I read that book.

(2) I read that book last night.

However, example (3), with a present perfect tense, cannot take adverbs which localize the action at some time in the past, as the ungrammaticality of (4) shows. Thus, although present perfects express action in the past, this past action is viewed only in terms of priorness, in this case, priorness to the present. Using such data as these, McCawley proposes that present perfects derive from a two-propositional structure, one proposition giving the "range" of time, and the other making an assertion about things in that range. The range extends from the past to the present [1], and the assertion provides the past tense because the statement is about something that took place in the past. In this way the "priorness" of the present perfect tense, i.e. priorness to the present, is accounted for.

(3) I've read that book.

(4) *I've read that book last night.

Past perfect can be analyzed in a similar fashion. [2] They too have a two-propositional structure, but the range does not extend to the present but remains in the past, extending from one point to another point in the past. Thus, if we want to say that the action of example (5) occurred in the past before some other action in the past, we come up with a past perfect, as in (6).

(5) He has lived in California (for) six years.

(6) When John finished college, he had lived in California (for) six years.

The range of "had lived" is from some time in the past to the time of the graduation, an event which also took place in the past.

We can extend McCawley's analysis to progressives. If perfects express priorness in relation to some other tense variable, then progressives must express "time at" or simultaneity. The present progressive expresses simultaneity with the time of utterance; (7) means that I'm doing the reading right now. Thus these also

(7) I'm reading a paper.

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[1] McCawley actually argues, unconvincingly to my mind, that the range includes the present.

[2] Several different kinds of past tense can be neutralized into a past perfect. For examples see McCawley 1971 : 102—3.

have a two-propositional structure, one giving the time, the other saying what happened at that time. A slightly more complex case is that of the present perfect progressive, as illustrated in (8). For this tense we must say that the range extends from.

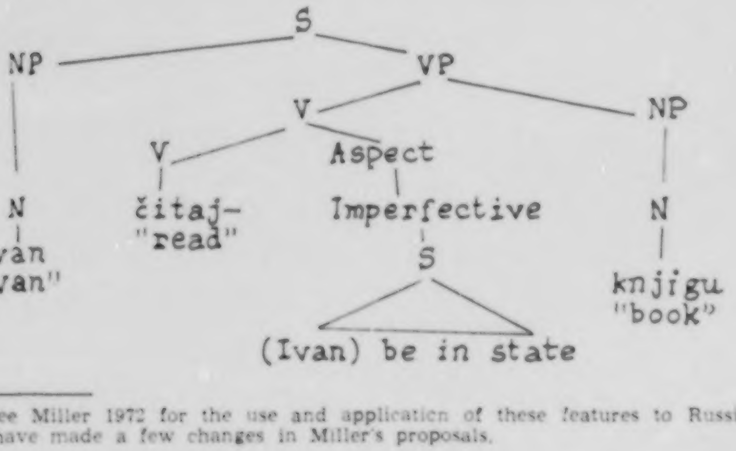
(8) I've been studying English (for) five years some time in the

past up to and including the present ; the other proposition then makes an assertion about something in this range. Thus (8) means that I am still studying English .The data given here and above are summarized in the table (9) as a review of some of the semantic relations of English tenses. "Time" refers to the time of the assertion and "relation" to whether the tense expresses priorness or simultaneity, or neither of these.

(9)	*Time*	*Relation*
Present Perfect	Past	Priorness to present
Past Perfect	Past	Priorness to past
Present Progressive	Present	Simultaneity with present
Past Progressive	Past	Simultaneity with past
Simple Present	Present	None
Simple Past	Past	None

Keeping this in the back of our minds, we can now look at aspect. As stated above, aspect can be analyzed as a semantic structure expressing the relation of the subject to its "state"[3]. Imperfective verbs have a structure containing the element "be in state", something like that illustrated in (10). (Nouns have been given their appropriate case

(10)



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[3] See Miller 1972 for the use and application of these features to Russian. Note I have made a few changes in Miller's proposals.

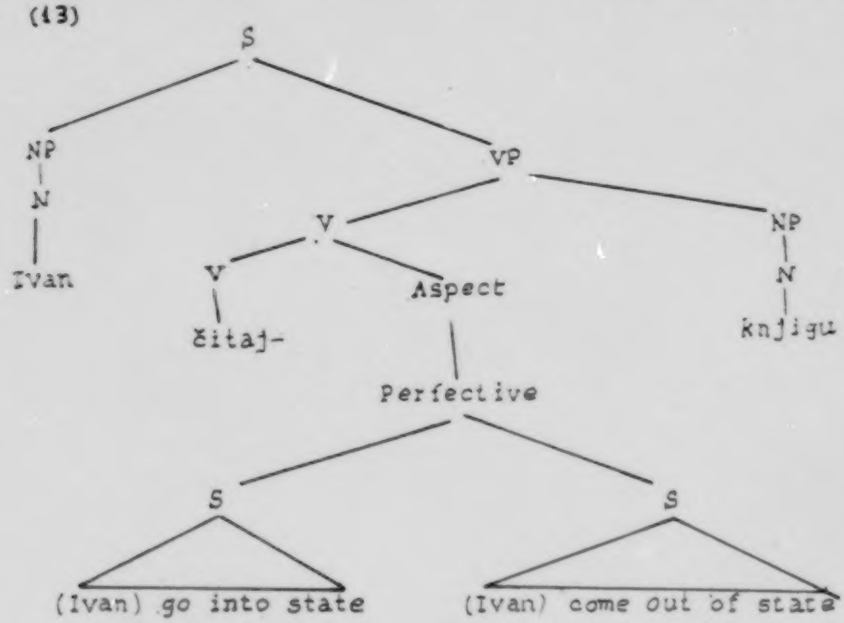
endings; this has no bearing on aspect.) If we add tense to this, we get different possibilities. Present tense gives (11); past tense gives (12). (11) indicates "being in a state of reading" in the present, while

(11) Ivan čita knjigu
Ivan read-Pres book "Ivan is reading a book".

(12) Ivan je čitao knjigu
Ivan 3rdSing-Aux read-Past book "Ivan was reading a book".

(12) expresses "being in a state of reading" in the past. Perfective aspect, on the other hand, lacks this feature of "being in state"; it has a structure something like that of (13). Perfectives have restrictions which follow from the fact that they lack the feature "being in state". One, they cannot be used in present tense since that means "being in state" of doing something at the time of utterance; second, they cannot be used to express an action that is in progress at some other indicated time, for the same reason. Thus (14) cannot be used to mean that Maja

(13)



(14) Maja je ušla kada je Ivna
Maja 3rd Sing-Aux enter-Past when 3rd Sing-Aux Ivan
spremio ručak.
prepare-Past dinner "Maja entered when Ivan had already prepared dinner".

entered when Ivan was preparing dinner because the verb in the subordinate clause is perfective[4]. The verbs cannot express actions occurring at the same time. To say that Ivan was still in the process of ("in state of") preparing dinner, we must use the imperfective aspect, as in (15). (The difference between the two forms is in the penultimate segment : the imperfective has an *a*, the perfective an *i*.)

(15) Maja je ušla kada je Ivan spremao ručak.
"Maja entered when Ivan was preparing dinner".

Note that as a result of not having an element of "being in state", perfectives can be used to signal completion of an act. Thus (16) means that I have completed the act of reading.

(16) Pročitao sam knjigu. (= 17)

(17) I've read the book. (= 16)

Also implied in this example is the idea that I have read the book through. This latter idea of doing something to its end is not the basic notion of perfectives, although many textbooks claim that it is. It follows logically from the underlying semantic features and, to take this example, what we know to be a book. Since perfectives have two features, one for entering state and one for leaving state, the assumption is made that the "leaving state" component occurred at the end of the book. Thus the notion of completion for perfectives.

We can now examine contrastively Slavic aspect and English tense. Contrastive studies done thus far have generally focused on comparing Slavic imperfective aspect with the English progressive tenses on the one hand, and perfective aspect with English perfect tenses on the other. Thus Vlatković (1969) states that "progressive forms in English are usually considered as projecting the "duration' or "imperfectiveness' of the Slavic aspectual behavior" (p. 64), and that there are "clear-cut cases where the English present perfect is equivalent to certain perfective verbs" (p. 68). A re-examination of all that I've said in the preceding paragraphs shows that what is equated between imperfective aspect and progressive tenses — what makes them similar — are the features of "being in state" for aspect and "simultaneity" for English progressives. There are obvious semantic similarities between them : if someone is "in a state" of doing something in the present, he is obviously doing it simultaneously with the present[5]. Similarly, in (15) Ivan's "being in a state" of preparing dinner when Maja entered is equivalent to saying that the action of preparing dinner is at least in part simultaneous with Maja's entering. Note that in these two examples

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[4] I have taken a slight liberty with the tense form. Serbo-Croatian normative grammarians actually prescribe a pluperfect tense here, although the form given in the example is frequently heard. In either case the aspect would have to be perfective.

[5] If we accept Ross' (1970) proposals regarding the existance of a higher performative sentence, then we can say that the action of the verb in a present progressive is simultaneous with of the performative verb.

(the Serbo-Croatian sentence and its English equivalent) the verbal forms express two things: in Serbo-Croatian past tense and "being in state" and in English past tense and simultaneity. For these reason students quickly and easily establish a correspondence between the two forms.

However, the feature of "simultaneity" in English progressives implies that they are simultaneous with something. In the present we can argue that this something is the higher verb in the performative sentence. In the past this device is not available to us since the verb in the performative sentence is still in the present tense. Thus progressives when by themselves in the past are somewhat strange; upon hearing "I was reading all day yesterday", an English-speaker expects something else for the verb to be simultaneous to, e. g. "while you were looking for the house". Without this additional information the English sentence is incomplete. The corresponding Serbo-Croatian sentence, on the other hand, is not so constrained, since the feature "being in state" requires no simultaneous action. Interference occurs in both directions: the native speaker of English is hesitant to use the imperfective aspect in the past and the native speaker of Serbo-Croatian produces sentences like that above when a simple past tense, i. e. "I read all day yesteday", is the correct form.

The similarity between perfect tense and perfective aspect stems from equating the notion of "priorness" of the perfect tenses with the "exit state" feature of perfective verbs. Thus (16) could be rendered as (17) in English, and (18) as (19):

(18) Kada je John pročitao šest biografija, počeo je pisati svoju autobiografiju.

(19) When John had read six biographies, he began to write his own autobiography.

Both (18) and (19) express sequences of actions: first John read the books, then he began to write. In this case the priorness of the English past perfect is matched by the "exit from state" (or the completion implied by this) of the perfective verb.

In most of the examples I've discussed thus far, the semantic import of aspect and tense has to a large degree coincided. Differences exist; they vary in their degree of interference, but all are contrastively interesting. One important difference was briefly touched upon before; it involves the place of the English simple past tense (actually, of any English simple tense) in a system where the imperfective/progressive and perfective perfect correspondences have been established.

Finite forms of the verbs express both tense and aspect; the English simple tenses express only tense, lacking the "priorness" of the perfect tenses and the "simultaneity" of the progressives. This leaves the simple past tense, for example, to the side and native speakers of Serbo-Croatian would say, as noted above, "I was reading all day yesterday", when a simple past is appropriate.

More interesting, I think, is a contrastive analysis of the present perfect with perfective aspect. As stated above, the present perfect expresses not absolute past but priorness to the present. Because the range continues right up to the present moment (the moment of utterance), this tense is used to express actions whose relevance continues to the present ; the tie with the present is further strengthened by the relationship of "priorness" to the present that the tense expresses. The corresponding Serbo-Croatian form is generally agreed to be a perfective verb in the preterite. (I shall use the term *preterite* here to refer to the form called *perfekt* in Serbo-Croatian in order to avoid confusion which the latter term might cause.) One Serbo-Croatian grammar describes this use as expressing actions which occurred in the past but whose consequences last into the present (Brabec-Hraste-Zivković 1968 : 249). Thus the surface uses are all but identical ; this last description of the Serbo-Croatian sounds almost as though it is a translation from English grammars describing the present perfect. In terms of the underlying features proposed here, this similarity results from equating the priorness of the present perfect, which may imply completion, and the exist-state component of perfective aspect, which also implies completion in the appropriate context. Despite the identity of use — to express past action with current relevance — deep-structure differences do exist. The Serbo-Croatian form lacks the "priorness" of the English tense. As a result, it can take an adverb localizing the time in the past. (20) can be turned into (21) without any loss of grammaticality (although there is some loss of emphasis on the relevance of the action to the

(20) Pročitao sam vašu knjigu
read-Past slt Sing-ux your book
"I've read your book".

(21) Jučer sam pročitao vašu knjigu.
*Yesterday I've read your book
"Yesterday I read your book I read your book yesterday".

present. However, its English equivalent cannot take the adverb. A simple tense must be substituted. By looking at more abstract semantic features, this otherwise unexplained fact can be explained.

The two forms show another syntactic difference arising from their different semantic natures. Again it involves time adverbs. Examples are given in (22) and (23). The English

(22) John has left for Europe by now.

(23) She has bought her ticket by now.

examples can take the adverb "by now", an adverb whose nature matches the time range of the present perfect. However, the proposed Serbo-Croatian equivalent of the adverb — *dosada* — cannot combine freely with the preterite of a perfective verb, as the ungrammaticality of (24) shows.

(24) *Dosada je John otišao u Evropu.
by now 3rdSing-Aux John left-Past for Europe.

Thus, although the uses or senses of the two forms seem to be identical — they have the same implications, they would be used in the same situations — their semantic structures are quite different, and there are syntactic consequences of this difference which can be explained by looking at more abstract structures.

The kinds of interference I've discussed thus far have resulted from incorrectly equating features of English tense and Slavic aspect. Problems can arise also when the features are absent, so that there is no clue to help the student choose a form. Since aspect is an inherent category of the verb, it can never be absent. All verbal stems express aspect. However, tense features like "priorness" can be missing from an English sentence (at least from its surface representation), so that an English speaker cannot use such features to choose one aspect over another. The examples I shall use are from a recently-conceived Serbo-Croatian — English contrastive project for native speakers of English who are studying Serbo-Croatian.

Three English examples are given in (25)—(27). As can be seen,

(25) I love to read several pages before going to sleep.

(26) They talked me into staying with them until tomorrow.

(27) We went into the forest to gather a kilo of mushrooms.

they involve infinitive and gerund constructions, which do not express tense. Taking completion as the meaning of perfective aspect, which is the meaning usually mentioned in textbooks, we can look at the English examples to see if they necessarily imply or express some notion of completion. (25) gives no particular stress to completing the act of reading. The emphasis is on the act of reading, the number of pages just happening to be several. The notion of completion is definitely possible in (26) since the time period is specified as "until tomorrow", but is only a possibility to the English speaker. (27) again has no special emphasis on completing the gathering. However, all three sentences require perfective verbs to be grammatical. To take just one example, (28) is unacceptable because of the imperfective verb *čitati*, the second word in the sentence. The correct form is given in (29); it requires the perfective verb *pročitati*. Yet the native speaker of English, faced with the task of translating (25), would usually give the incorrect (28). He has been misled by an incorrect "interlanguage" which was created on the basis

(28) *Volim *čitati* nekoliko stranica prije spavanja.

(29) Volim *pročitati* nekoliko stranica prije spavanja. (= 25)

of typical pedagogical practices of focusing on *senses* or *uses* of aspect (and tense, for that matter).

Looking at more abstract structures, we can see the reason for the conflict. The English verb *read* by itself expresses neither completion process, notions which result from certain tense and time features found in the sentence. These features are not expressed on the surface nor, as far as I can tell, is there any reason to posit them in the embedded sentence where the verbs under discussion, *read* in (25), *stay* in (26), and *gather* in (27), would be found. Serbo-Croatian on the other hand has a rule, which may be called Perfective Triggering, which makes the verbal stem perfective before various kinds of quantifiers, if the verb is in an embedded *S*. These may be temporal quantifiers as in (26) or the kinds quantifiers illustrated in (25) and (27). These quantifiers automatically provide a situation in which the verb must express "coming out of state", resulting in a perfective verb. English has a rule creating perfect infinitives in such sentences as "I want to have read that book by tomorrow", but the restrictions are different from those of the Serbo-Croatian rule and, in any case, this type of infinitive would not be acceptable in any of the examples cited above, (25)—(27). Furthermore, it is more common not to use the perfect infinitive, saying e. g. "I want to read that book by tomorrow". At any rate, these English rules and structures are sufficiently different so that the native speaker does not equate them with Perfective Triggering and the resulting Serbo-Croatian structures, and thus students consistently make mistakes in translating sentences like (25)—(27). Again, the kind of approach that centers attention on surface-structure uses cannot usually explain these examples.

In brief, then, I Ihave tried to make the following points in this paper. One, that a semantic-structure approach to a contrastive analysis of English tense and Slavic aspect is possible. Second, that such an approach is both in theory and in practice much more satisfying than an approach of the kind found in both pedagogical and structural grammars that focuses on surface uses or senses of English tense and Slavic aspect. Third, that a semantic-structure analysis can explain certain syntactic facts (e. g. use of adverbials, choice of aspect) resulting from the underlying semantic features, whereas a use-oriented grammar cannot neatly explain such facts.

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ELEMENTS OF CONTRAST IN THE SYSTEMS OF TENSES IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN

MIHAI MIRCEA ZDRENGHEA

1.0. Ample explorations into lexical meaning have proved that the morphemic structure of the stem is irrelevant for the problem under consideration. Thus, the purpose of this study is not to provide a detailed morphemic analysis of the tense forms. The forms are analyzed just enough to establish their basic features.

The problem was to develop a method of definition which was based on semantic transfers. Consequently, we were concerned with exploring the definitions with the character of system in English and Romanian.[1] The immedite task was not to discover all possible tense-form contexts, but to define the properties of tense-forms in their relationships to one another, that is, to define their individual roles in terms of the total tense-system[2]. If we study these compatibilities we find the combinatorial potential, which means, in terms of the present problem, that the functions of a form cannot be properly defined unless we know the properties it has in the system. An analysis of the combinatorial potentials of a form, rather than a description of its actual combinations, requires the explorations of aspects previously explored only by the theoretician[3].

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[1] The contribution of each form to a complex compound of a tense form and a time adverbial cannot be defined if the function of one element is actually defined by the function of the other. It is true that there is an overlapping as tense forms and time adverbials are synonymous with respect to some concepts which make a sentence like "**I saw him tomorrow*", meaningless (cf. Geoffrey Leech, *Towards a Semantic Description of English*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and London, 1969, p. 134). The synonymous concepts must be those referring to orientation and order: e.g. *John walks to school this week*; the simple present tense in this sentence may be assigned the following reading [+ SIM → — DEF → + REP → + EXT → — LIM] and the time adverbial [+ SIM → + DEF → — REP → — EXT → — LIM] (cf. Mihai M. Zdrenghea, *Structure and Values of the English Tenses Collocated with Time Adverbials*, Unpublished dissertation). If there exists an antonymy with respect to the concept of symultaneity like in "*I saw him tomorrow*" where the past tense is assigned the reading [— SIM → + BEF → — DEF → — REP → — EXT → + LIM] and the time adverbial [— SIM → — BEF → — DEF → — REF → — EXT → + LIM], pair the derived reading "saw him tomorrow" is **blocked by the antonymous pair** [± BEFORE].

[2] We tried to define the functions of the tenses in terms of orientation, order and aspect and not in terms of other systems with which they happen to be compatible.

1.1. The basic problem was to discover what relationship exists between the properties a form has in the system and the total meaning of an actual combination[4]. The great difficulty encountered in this operation was the fact that a morpheme does not contain elements which symbolize its properties in the system. Systems, however, are not like morphemes in a system. It has already been demonstrated that the same conceptual system may be the base for a variety of morphemic systems[5]. These facts point to a conclusion which requires a new attitude toward the problem of tense. When the morphemes indicating lexical meaning, person, number, and aspect are concentrated in a tense form, there remains also the concept of *direction* to be expressed.

The systemic properties of events interact with the systemic properties of the referents of other parts of speech, and this interaction produces meaning which cannot be conveyed by the individual elements of the syntactical combination[6]. Such combinations compel the structural linguist to appeal to the semanticist for a description of how a language really works and, of course, for the criteria needed to establish a link between purely syntactical distribution which requires no significant preoccupation with meaning and any refinement of distribution which results in the definition of functions.

2.0. Traditionally, the structure of a tense system is revealed by morphemes affixed to the verb system. The first task was to establish theoretically the total number of concepts to be expressed by the available morphemes. Without a clear differenciation between concept and morpheme, it was impossible to discover that meaning can be expressed without using a morpheme at all.

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[3] The majcr task was to bridge the gap between theoretical and applied linguistics.

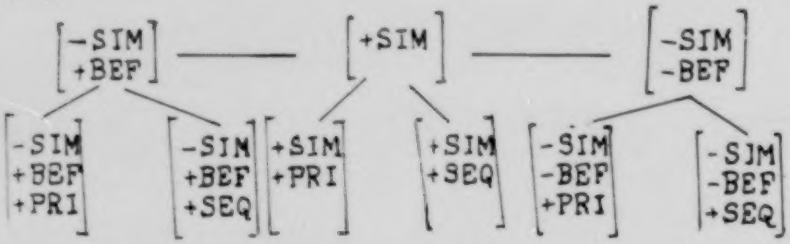
[4] The meaning of the present tense in a sentence like "Mary writes letters today" is [— SIM → — DEF → + REP → — EXT → + LIM] and the meaning of the time adverbial is [+ SIM → + DEF → —REP → — EXT → + LIM]. In this case the temporal adverbial that expressed a limited period (today) may collocate with tense forms that express habitual actions (writes) and the syntactic component "writes today" can be assigned a derived reading that expresses the actual temporal specification of the sentence [+ SIM → + DEF → + REP → + EXT → + LIM] (cf. Mihai Zdrenghea, op. cit., p. 196). We were concerned with the relationship existing between the meaning cf the present tense in the system and the meaning of syntactic combinations similar to the one presented above.

[5] The system of tenses and the system of temporal adverbials share the same system of concepts (cf. Mihai Zdrenghea, *op. cit.*, p. 132). William Bull in *Time, Tense and the Verb*, A study in theoretical and applied linguistics with particular attention to Spanish. (University of Californta Press, Berkeley, Londen Los Angeles, 1971, p. 24) adds that "the minimum requirement for a morphemic system based on order is a symbol for the event and morphemes to indicate the three order relations" and "the minimum requirement for an aspectual system is the symbol for the event and devices tc express perfective and imperfective aspect".

[6] It is the case described under (4) where the independent readings of "writes" and "today" produce a different meaning in combination. This meaning is not morphemically marked.

It seemed necessary to begin the analysis of morpheme function by first constructing a hypothetical tense system based exclusively on the concepts of orientation [± SIMULTANEOUS], aspect [PRIOR, SEQUENT] and order [± BEFORE]. This construct may be used as a form of reference for the analysis and description of the functions of each morpheme:

(1)



Meaning can be conveyed in terms of only one level at a time.. It is to be observed that a level contains three order symbols oriented towards the moment of speech. Starting from the moment of speech as the point towads which all the other temporal meanings are oriented, we can convert them into a tense system. In this fashion, a maximum of nine tenses can be described. This system operates on two levels; neither of which can accomodate a tense form existing in English and marked "would have V-n" among the tense of the indicative[7]. In fact, out of the nine possible tense forms in the hypothetical tense system, two, [+ SIM + PRI] and [+ SIM + SEQ], exhibit only concepts of orientation and aspect, lacking the concept of order, a fact that made us decide to exclude them from the system the final system having only seven tense forms[8].

2.1. Since all events take place in time, a unidirectional and unidimentional system, there are only three possible order relations in terms of which any given event is used as an axis of orientation, thus the two systems [± SIMULTANEOUS] and [± BEFORE] deal with *time* and *events*. Time is durationally infinite, but divisible in intervals : all events take place in time, have a beginning, a middle and an end are either simultaňeaus or sequential. Time and all events in time are experienced serially and unidirectionally. Man can add more events to what he has already experienced only at the moment of speech and progresively toward the future. In this respect we are dealing with an open system in which the projectional possibilities are theoretically infinite.[9] The open nature of this system requires the conclusion that the number of parallel events expressed temporally by morphemes which are adopted as a base of a system may vary from language to language, a fact which is easily confirmed.

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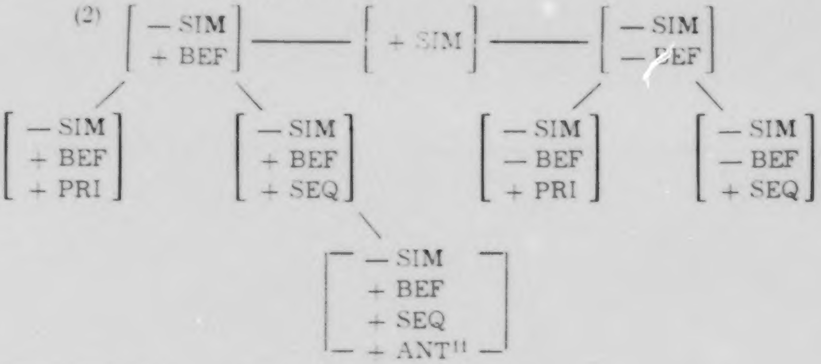
[7] cf. Otto Jesperson, *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles*, Copenhagen, 1909—1949, vol. 4, p. 25.

[8] cf. Mihai Zdrenghea, *On the Acquisition of the Present perfect by Romanians*. The Romanian-English Contrastive Analysis Project, Bucharest, 1975; In this article we show that tenses have counterparts in the adverbial system: *yeterday, now, tomorrow*, which is not the case with the present perfect. Not only does it not have a counterpart in the adverbial system, but it does not accept collocation with temporal adverbials if not modified by prepositions. The complicated system of markers that make possible the collocation between tenses and time adverbials cannot perform the same functions when adverbials collocate with the present perfect. The concept [OCCURRENCE] does not suffice to interpret the meaning of a sentence.

3.0. The complications revealed by a model system do not actually show the vast complexities of what happens whenever a person begins to operate with projected events. With the establishment of each new level for projection, the number of factors to be considered increases rapidely and requires a more complicated description and more elaborated systems of symbols. It is readily evident that what is possible theoretically on a high level of abstraction could be utterly meaningless in a real situation. A third level[10] need be introduced and be taken into consideration, a fact that leads to three more possible relations between events and temporal levels. The hypothetical tense-system thus obtained is a construct based on relativity which means that the interrelationships of the three levels of temporal specification cannot be conceptualized in terms of the axiom that all events are serial and sequent. On the third level we introduced only that form that corresponds to the English "future-perfect-in-the-past" :

(2)



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[9] cf. Willim Bull, *op. cit.*, p. 27 who also says that the complicated problems of relativity presented by a hypothetical system indicates that there is justification for assuming that there exists some practical limit to this type of projection in ordinary language.

[10] Willian Bull describes the system of tenses on a four axes orientation basis, without, however, filling all the possible slots in the system.

[11] We introduced a new mark which must indicate a reorientation of the focus towards a moment in the past (or future, if we fill in all the possible slots on the third level).

3.1. The hypothetical tense system described in terms of the symbols [±SIMULTANEOUS], [±BEFORE], [PRIOR, INCIDENT, SEQUENT] is of maximal [12]. Neither English, nor Romanian, in fact none of the languages that we know, has however, equivalents for all the hypothetical forms. No verbal form can be found either in English or Romanian for [—SIM —BEF +SEQ] and both future [—SIM —BEF] and "future-in-the-past" [—SIM +BEF +SEQ] are represented by forms which function non-systematically, that is, which shift from "present" to "future" and from "past" to "future-in-the-past". Consequently, there are four perfect tenses of which three are described on the second level and one (future-perfect-in-the-past) on the third level as it is re-oriented with regard to a moment of reference on the second level. These perfect tenses point rather sharply to the observation that aspect plays a significant role in the construction of actual tense forms. The parallelism between perfective- before and imperfective-simultaneous can be taken as a proof that the entire tense system of a language can be explained in terms of aspect and order.

The interdependence of aspect and order in the complex systems should make one inquire whether there is, in fact, any real difference between the so-called aspect and tense.

3.2. We constructed a system of symbols representing orientation [±SIMULTANEOUS], order [±BEFORE], aspect [PRIOR, INCIDENT, SEQUENT] and [± DEFINITE], [± REPEATED], [± EXTENDED], [± LIMITED] [13] which we combined in a system. Once we have stepped beyond the description of the hypothetical system of tenses which involved only the first three systems described, the morphemic realization of the actual tenses in English and Romanian makes use of the other four systems. This may lead to the creation of other tense forms but any tense form created beyond the basic system leads to redundancy. The redundant form may be preserved as a free variant, or it may be employed in completely artificial and irrelevant distinction in usage [14].

Prime tenses contain sets of properties and they may be treated as forms which can be synchronized with time concepts. They exhibit orientation to the moment of speech. The moment of speech acts like a common focus; it makes communication possible. The analysis of tense forms led us to the analysis of human behaviour in specified situations that we can call non-systemic: we have in view specific perceivable activities taking place (stage indications, demonstrations, sports comments, generic predications and timeless predications). The description of such predications involve only the concept of simultaneity

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[12] The introduction of the mark [± ANTERIOR] could generate eight additional tenses, on the third level. There is no corresponding form in any language that we know, except for the form [— SIM + BEF + SEQ + ANT] in English, the existence of which is doubted by some linguists.

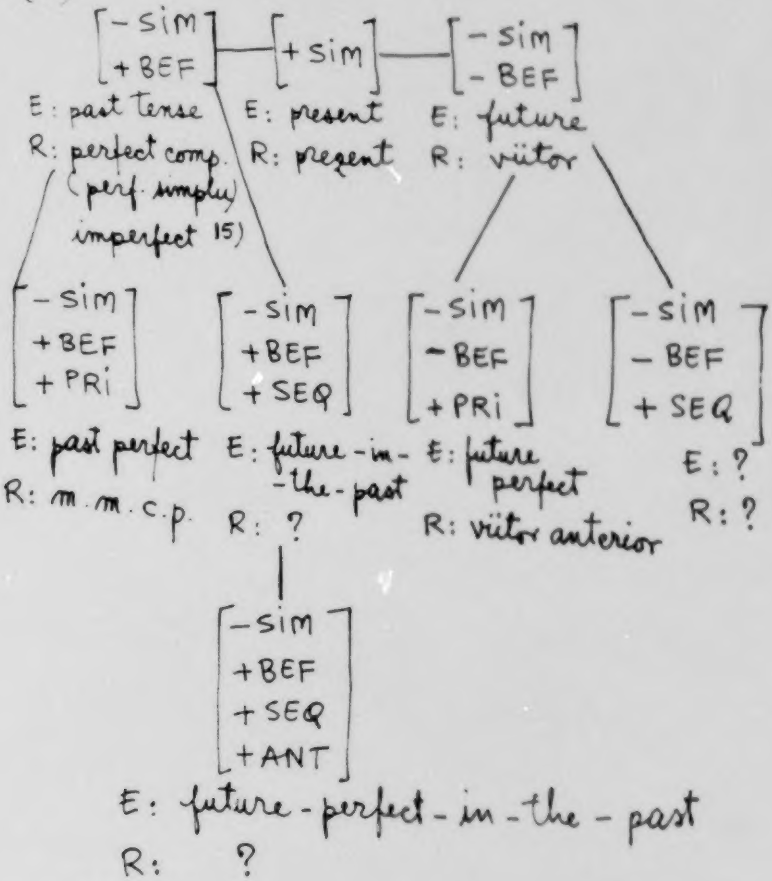
[13] The justification for introducing the marks [± DEFINITE], [± REPEATED], [± EXTENDED] [± LIMITED] is detailed in my dissertation "Structure and Values..." pp. 63—110.

[14] These forms can be used to convey information which is totally irrelevant to the basic function of the tense construct. It is the case of the "perfectul simplu" in Romanian which according to the representation assigned to it fills the same alot in the system as the "perfectul compus" [— SIM + BEF].

[+ SIM] in both English and Romanian. They do not pose any problem to a Romanian learner of English that comes into contact with the temporal system of English.

3.3. The actual problems arise when a tense form in the system exhibits ambiguity to a certain degree. A close look at the eight English verb forms that can be fitted in the hypothetical system of tenses described above and the corresponding verb forms in Romanian reveal a striking similarity with respect to the temporal specifications in the concepts :

(3)



[-SIM +BEF]
[+SIM]
[-SIM -BEF]
E: past tense
R: perfect comp. (perf. simplu) imperfect 15)
E: present
R: prezent
E: future
R: viitor
[-SIM +BEF +PRI]
[-SIM +BEF +SEQ]
[-SIM -BEF +PRI]
[-SIM -BEF +SEQ]
E: past perfect
R: m.m.c.p.
E: future-in--the-past
R: ?
E: future perfect
R: viitor anterior
E: ?
R: ?
[-SIM +BEF +SEQ +ANT]
E: future-perfect-in-the-past
R: ?

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[15] The "perfectul simplu" is a redundant form, but the "imperfectul" distinguishes from the "perfectul compus" with regard to the concepts of definiteness, duration and repetition, a foct that justifies its independence.

A few remarks can be made : five forms exhibit the same concepts. Two other forms (future-in-the-past and future-perfect-in-the-past) existing only in English fit in the pattern of the hypothetical system, but do not have corresponding forms in Romanian. One form (present perfect) cannot be identified in terms of the system we adopted. A tense-form existing in Romanian — imperfectul — doubles the function of the "perfectul compus" to a certain extent, being synonymous with regard to the concepts of non-simultaneity and anteriority. Different distributions are determined by differences with regard to the other concepts exhibited by these forms.

The elements of contrast have in not only the forms that have no formal equivalent in the other language but with predilection the other tense forms which, because of different distributions of the aspectual concepts in the representation of these forms, make difficult the assimilation of several values of these tense forms. The elements of contrast presented thus far do not explain the difficulties that Romanian learners have when acquiring the tense system of English. There must be another aspect ,with even deeper consequences than those thus far elucidated.

4.0. It is our intention to discuss only one aspect of this problem, namely the problem of the present tense, as the other elements of contrast int the two systems can be discussed in a similar way. According to our studies[16] the present tense, mrophemically marked [—Z], is ambiguous on the sixth degree which means that there are six readings assigned to this form : a. *simultaneous predication* [+SIM→+DEF→—REP→+EXT→—LIM] b. *simultaneous frequency of occurrence* [+SIM→+DEF→—REP→+EXT→—LIM] c. *all time* [+SIM→—DEF→+REP→+EXT→—LIM] d. *generic predications* [+SIM→—DEF→—REP→—EXT→—LIM] e. *timeless predications* (similar in scription with d.) f. *specific perceivable activity taking place* [+SIM→+DEF→—REP→—EXT→—LIM]. The corresponding tense form in Romanian is six ways ambigous. In addition to the six values already mentioned, two additional ones represent g. *contemporaneous present activity with durative verbs* [+SIM→+DEF—→REP→+EXT+→LIM] and h. *contemproaneous present activity with punctual verbs*[17] [+SIM→+DEF→+REP→+EXT+→LIM]. In the last two cases the event, the perception and the speech are simultaneous. The speaker continues to perceive the event throughout the entire act of speaking and the hearer can also observe and verify the statement.

4.1. Since we are here primarily interested in the use of these different forms to express time in one way or another we may group together readings (senses) that have different distributions but marked by similar temporal morphemes. The problem that intrigued us when trying to describe the verb systems of English and Romanian was how to fit the eight values existing in English and the coresponding values in Romanian into some kind of tense systems which could correspond to a native speaker's feeling about time and the fact of usage[18].

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[16] cf. Mihai Zdrenghea, *Structure and Values*., pp. 163—192.

[17] We distinguished two different readings (g) and (h) though in both instances it is a case of *contemporaneous present activity* because the concept [EXTENDED] makes the first group non-sensitive to the concept of repetition while the second is sensitive to this concept, hence two different readings.

If we take the systemic functions of the present tense: *simultaneous predication*: [+SIM→+DEF→—REP→+EXT→—LIM], *simultaneous frequency of occurrence*: [+SIM→+DEF→+REP→+EXT→—LIM], and *contemporaneous present activity*: [+SIM→+DEF→±REP→+EXT→+→+LIM] we realize that the same senses can be achieved in Romainan. In English the first two senses are marked by the morpheme [—Z] and the third by [be-ing]. In Romainan only one morpheme covers the information conveyend in English by the two morphemes:

(4)

a. English

[−Z] { simultaneous predication
simultaneous frequency of occurrence

[be-ing] - contemporaneous present activity

b. Romanian

[−Z] { simultaneous predication
simultaneous frequency of occurrence
contemporaneous present activity

A Romainan learner assimilates in the first stage the tense form marked by [—Z]in English. The assimilation of the two senses assigned to this form is made easier by the Romanian corresponding form. The other tense form, marked by [be-ing]is also assimilated and correctly understood by Romanian learners. The difficulties arise only when the Romanian lerner wants to use creatively the form in the process of speaking in the first stage of learning. Usually, translating from Romanian he would use the form marked by [—Z] even when the form marked by [be-ing] is required, because the Romanian tense form marked by [—Z] also covers this sense. The English form marked by [be-ing] carries additional aspectual information, involving the concepts of limitation and definition which in Romanian is lexically expressed.

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[18] Evidently, several of the possible kinds of time are not marked by special verbs forms. There is also the possibility that one or mcre of the existent sets of forms may not be used for time reference at all, e.g. the present perfect.

An analysis of the systemic senses of tenses in English and Romanian proves that the problem posed to a Romanian learner is not that of the place of a tense form in the system of tenses, but the problem of understanding aspectual properties exhibited by a tense form. It provides a solution for the correct assimilation of the present perfect and a solution for including the "imperfect" in the system of tenses with the status of a form providing specific information.

5.0. As a conclusion we may say that :

1. the tense forms must be analyzed on a three level system

2. The system must take into consideration problems of direction, order and aspect

3. aspect provides a solution for a correct acquisition of English tense forms by Romanian learners.

THE IMPERATIVE IN ROMANIAN AND IN ENGLISH

RODICA MIHĂILĂ

In order to specify our intentions concerning the contrastive analysis of the imperative, we shall begin our presentation with a few considerations on the latter.

In our analysis we are going to take into account the Austinian opposition constative/performative [1]. The performative sequences "do not 'describe' or 'report' or 'constate' anything at all, are not true or false. The uttering of the respective sequences is, or is a part of, the doing of an action". "To *say* something is to *do something*" [2].

The traditional forms of the imperative mood [3], alongside other linguistic means (certain uses of the subjunctive or the future, performative verbs used in the lst person present indicative, including certain uses of modal verbs, intonation, etc.) are considered by Austin to be modalities by means of which linguistic acts are realized.

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[1] We do not insist on the justification of this opposition by trying to demonstrate that the constative may be interpreted as a particular modality of performative, for this would go beyond the aim of our paper.

[2] J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, p. 6. For Austin the concept of performative represents an extension of the concept of imperative : "the term performative will be used in a variety of cognate ways and construction much as the term imperative is."

[3] Defining the performative according to its linguistic realization („des énoncés où un verbe déclaratif-jussif à la première personne du présent est construit avec un dictum", p. 271) and thus failing to understand exactly the Austinian concept, Em. Benveniste, in his study *La philosophie analytique et le langage*, „Problèmes de linguistique générale", Paris, 1966, excludes the imperative as a possibility of performing lingustic acts.

„Un énoncé est performatif en ce qu'il dénomme l'acte performé... Rien de pareil dans l'imperatif. Il ne faut pas être dupe du fait que l'impératif produit un résultat, que *venez !* fait parvenir effectivement celui à qui on s'adresse." (p. 274).

„L'impératif n'est pas dénotatif et ne vise pas a communiquer un contenu, mais se caractérise comme pragmatique et a vise à *agir sur l'auditeur, à lui intimer un comportement*" (underlined by us ; *ibid.*)

Benveniste's assertion concerning the imperative fully correspond to the definition given to certain illocutionary acts.

Imperative utterances mark, as agains those that contain performative verbs (whith *name* the illocutionary act), the opposition implicit / explicit.

Consequently, we shall not concern ourselves with an explicit generative-transformational treatment of the imperative[4].

The attempts to generate the imperative from underlying phrase-markers containing the verbal form *will*, because of its character of futurity, or to demonstrate that *will* is not to be found in the deep structure of all imperatives (R.A.), or to bring the imperative close to the infinitive (D.B.), all seem to ignore the main feature of the imperative, namely its ability to perform linguistic acts. The abovecited authors bring the imperative close to the indicative[5].

At the same time we disagree with the point of view of traditional grammars which reduce the paradigm of the imperative to the 2nd person singular and plural.

We must, nevertheless, admit that the paradigm of the imperative is restricted, on account of its function of performing linguistic acts.

The speaker S, 1st person, addresses A, 2nd person [± present], referring to the latter (Ar) or to X, 3rd person [± present], [± animate]. If S addresses A, referring to himself, we are dealing with an indirect act, but actually reflexive.

In conclusion, for those persons (1, 3) for which there are no specific forms, the imperative uses special forms or forms borrowed from other moods.

That is why our analysis will include all the forms that can perform imperative acts.

As we are dealing with acts, the restriction of the imperative concerning time, namely the present, can be accounted for and is in keeping with Austin's views[6].

The finality of the uttering of the sonorous sequence, i.e. the effect of the act directed by S upon Ar/X, corresponds to the *illocutionary force* of the respective sequence.

When we chose the imperative as our topic, we had in mind *the imperative as a certain type of illocutionary force*, and not the traditional meaning of "imperative mood".

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[4] See Katz-Postal, *The Integrated Theory of Linguistic Description;* Ronald Arbini, *Tag-questions and Tag-imperative*, "Journal of Linguistics", vol. 5, no. 2 1969; D. Bolinger, *The Imperative in English*, "Honour to Roman Jakobson", vol. 1, p. 335.

[5] In the case of imperative acts rendered by structures with performative verbs, the sequences have an indicative form (1st person, present). How can these indicative forms perform acts? This question is answered by Virgil Aldrich in *Do Commands Express Propositions?* ("The Journal of Philosophy", vol. XL / 1943, no. 24, p. 654: "The reason is that if it [the indicative proposition] is true, then it indicates an instance, an exemplification in fact, of the idea of my — commanding — John-to-close-the-door. This instance would be the command itself ("John, close the door").

[6] In this sense it is a mistake to raise the problem of the futurity of the imperative. As an act between L and Ar X can be only present, even if, by performing this act, an attempt is made to determine Ar / X to adopt a certain future behaviour. In fact, there have been linguists who asserted the character of modality, not of futurity of *will* used with the imperative (sse Bolinger, *op. cit.*).

For traditional grammars, the imperative represents a category defined -first of all- semantically. The homogenous character of this category enabled us to equate it with a unitary type of illocutionary force, even if certain distinctions can be established later. Our starting point is therefore also semantic.

We define *the imperative as being the attempt made by S to determine or help Ar X to undertake a certain course of action*[7].

The way in which S acts upon Ar X differs according to the relation S — Ar X, according to S's intentions and to the person in whose interest the action is undertaken.

The imperative has the following semantic distinctions: *order, urge — advice, request, wish — imprecation.*

Order: it means exerting power or authority and in this sense it corresponds to an exercitive act in Austin's classification. S holds a position of authority towards Ar X: authority by right (in the social hierarchy) or moral authority. S constrains, obliges, forces Ar X to do H (future action). S possesses the instrument (authority, power) and the element of realization (repressive machinery). S realizes his will in the interest of Ar/X or in his own interest — which is a secondary fact having no bearing on the justification of the command.

Urge — Advice: S acts in the interest of Ar, by means of persuasion. S has moral authority, without means of constraint, without repressive consequences.

Request: the act is performed in S's interest. S solicits Ar's goodwill or permission. S holds a position of inferiority in relation to Ar.

Wish — Imprecation: it is an act of desire referring to Ar X. S wishes H to happen to Ar X. In fact, a wish is a form of request or order which implies the action of exterior forces for the benefit or to the detriment of Ar X. We consider the imprecation to be a negative wish.

The boundaries between the four categories of acts are very easily crossed when the specific elements are not clear, and this accounts for the *ambiguity* of the imperative.

All four types of acts exist both in Romanian and in English, and they form a common semantic background.

The linguistic means of rendering them are surprisingly parallel in the two languages.

As we have defined the imperative semantically, we shall draw up a parallel inventory, for Romanian and English, of the synonymic series rendering the four values of *order, urge — advice, request,* and *wish — imprecation* (which can be seen in Tables I—IV).

Taking into account the linguistic means by which Austin defines speech acts, we distinguish between *implicit* modalities (verbal tenses and moods) and *explicit* modalities (performative verbs).

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[7] See H. H. Castaneda, *Imperative Reasoning,* in "Philosophy and Phenomenological Research", vol. 21, no. 1—2/1960, p. 33.

See also Em. Benveniste, *op. cit.,* p. 274: [L'impératif] vise à agir sur l'auditeur, à lui intimer un comportement."

Ia. The *imperative proper* is the universal means — both for Romanian and for English — by which the four values are realized :

O :	Rom. Fă asta !	Eng.	Do it !
U—A :	Fă asta !		Do it !
R :	Fă asta (te rog) !		Please, do it !
W—I :	Fii fericit !		Be happy !
	Du-te naibii !		Go to hell !

The imperative represents a semantic constraint towards which the verbs in the dictionary react in a differentiated way. The constraints are approximately the same in the two languages, with the exception of the different polysemy of words.

O, U, R/W marks the opposition that is common to Romanian and English :

dynamic verbs agent (involving the subject's will)	/ static verbs experimenter (verbs of feeling, thinking, etc.)
Examples : a face — to make to do	a se întîmpla — to happen to come about
a spune — to say to tell	a suferi — to suffer to endure to bear
a lua — to take	
a trece — to pass	a reuși — to succeed to be successful (in)
etc.	a exista — to exist

O/U marks the opposition that is common to the two languages,

dynamic verbs	/ static verbs in the negative
a uita — to forget a se uita — to look	/ a uita — to leave behind
a aștepta — to wait for to await to expect	/ a se aștepta la — to expect

Sometimes negative forms of static verbs may appear as *admonitions, commands* — verbs belonging to the sphere of behaviour, for instance : Nu fii încăpățînat ! — Don't be stubborn !

The difference between Romanian and English is to be found especially with regard to Romanian forms of impersonal reflexive passive in indication — commands and interdiction — commands (negative forms of commands).

Examples : a se cumpăra — to be bought
a se păstra — to be kept/preserved
a se natșe (neg.) — to appear
a se întrebuința — to be used
a se obține — to be obtained
a se aplica — to be applied
a-și permite — to make bold to / to take the liberty of
a se spune — to be said
a se îndeplini — to be carried out

Ib. *Subjunctive* for Romanian, *subjunctive* and forms with the auxiliary *let* for English[8].

In Romanian, the subjunctive is the modality of rendering the imperative for all types of acts. In English the subjunctive is used only for the act of wish-imprecation, with its two forms — the synthetic and the analytic subjunctive.

Examples :	Trăiască Pacea !	Long *live* Peace !
	Să ai succes !	*May* success *attend* you !

The synthetic subjunctive is to be found especially in formulas.

The English modality equivalent to Romanian subjunctive constructions is the construction formed of the auxiliary *let* + the short infinitive of verbs. The difference consists in the fact that in Romanian the subjunctive is used for all persons (including the 2nd person), while the forms with *let* are impossible in this situation :

Să faci asta — Do it
Let you do it

As the request is valid in case of direct address (Ar), with this type of act, it is not expressed by forms with *let*. In both languages these forms of imperative (subjunctive / *let* + infinitive) are not frequent, for the ist person except in situations of self-order or self-urge. The 1st person plural may represent an extrapolation of an individual belonging to a collectivity, who, *by using the 1st person plural*, actually addresses a 2nd person plural. The 1st person plural is justified as far as in the future H, S will be part of the collective agent.

II. The *future* is a means of performing only a command, because the hypotheticalness of imperative acts is the most reduced with commands (on account of the element of constraint) — which corresponds to the characteristic of the future.

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[8] The use of the subjunctive for expressing certain forms of imperative might be due do its origin in the object clause of a main clause having a performative verb — *Îți ordon să faci asta* —, the main clause being eliminated and the imperative function being transfered to the subjunctive. In English, the forms with *let* have a structure that is similar to the object construction in which the verb *let* initially had the value of a performative verb of *permission*.

In English there is the opposition future proper modal future
I shall /I *will*
you will /you *shall*,
which does not exist in Romanian. The two forms *vei face, ai să faci* are equivalent.

III. The *infinitive* used for performing certain types of acts situated between order and urge, namely (formal) invitation, recommendation, indication. It appears with an impersonal value. As compared to the other means, it marks a stylistic opposition (formal style). Examples : *a se avea in vedere, a se ține seama de*. In English, the imperative is frequently used in such cases : *Keep this in mind, Take this into account*. But there is also an infinitival construction, which is the equivalent of the Romanian one : *This is to be kept in mind, This is to be taken into account*.

The use of verbal nouns for laconic formulations of interdictions is common to both languages : *Fumatul interzis ! No smoking !*

Starting with the series IV a, modal defective verbs, IV b, modal non-defective verbs, V, performative verbs, there are characteristic forms for each type of act.

With the series IV a, the specific modal verb for rendering the imperative is *trebuie* — *must*, expressing obligatoriness, necessity. The various meanings of this verb, both in Romanian and in English, mark
the opposition necessity /logical necessity[9]
obligatoriness/probability,
opposition which renders the values + performative / — performative. We are not going to comment upon logical necessity (*Trebuie* să fie cam tirziu — It *must* be rather). One should also keep in mind certain meanings of English modal verbs expressing logical necessity and probability : *ought to, should, will, would*.

With the [+ performative] value of necessity, we find the opposition external necessity / internal necessity[10], which corresponds to the opposition 0/U-A. In Romanian, the opposition is marked indicative/optative, conditional *(trebuie/ar trebui)*. In English there are special forms for the same opposition *(must, have to/should, ought to)*. For expressing command, Romanian also has the verb *ai să* (an equivalent of *trebuie*) and the expressions *este necesar să, este cazul să, urmează să*. In English, the equivalents of *must* are the modal verbs *have to, have got to*, as well as the expressions *it is necessary that you (should), you are to*.

For Urge — Advice, there are the following synonymic series : *e ar fi bine să, se cuvine/s-ar cuveni să, e/ar fi necesar să, e/ar fi de dorit să, e/ar fi timpul să ;* in English : *it is advisable, it is desirable, it is necessary that/for, had better, might, it's (high) time*, etc.

The optative value is expressed either by the conditional-optative mood *(ar fi, could*, etc), *or semantically (de dorit, s-ar cuveni ; desirable, advisable*, etc.).

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[9], [10] See L. Levițchi, *Sinonimie in gramatica limbii engleze*, Bucharest 1968, § *Modality*.

For request, Romanian has no modal verbs. English has *will, would, may, might, could,* which — as against other uses of the same verbs — mark the opposition neuter/willingness. Both languages have certain similar phrases for expressing request : *Fii bun/amabil și* — *Be so kind as to,* etc.

For wish there is no series of this kind.

O U R — obligatoriness/possibility/willingness, rendered as follows : O : Rom. *vreau, doresc* : Engl. *I want, I mean, I wish.* We incline to believe that an indirect order (3rd person) $\left.\begin{matrix}\textit{vreau}\\ \textit{doresc}\end{matrix}\right\}$ *să facă el* is a simple communication of S's will, deprived of the effectiveness of an act.

U : Rom. *a putea ;* in Eng., *can* is a modal verb and belongs to the category IV a. Rom. *ai putea s-o faci,* the equivalent of *fă-o, te rog* — Eng. *you could/might do it,* — *do it, please !* In the negative : Rom. *nu poți s-o jignești !,* the equivalent of ***nu o jigni !*** — Eng. *you can't hurt her feelings !* equivalent : *Don't hurt her feelings !*

R : in Rom. the optative of *a vrea, a dori, a putea ;* in Eng. *to want, to wish, to desire.*

The modal verb that is typical of wish is *a dori* — *to wish,* marking the opposition to command : $\dfrac{\text{wish}}{\text{optative will}} \Big/ \dfrac{\text{will}}{\text{authoritative wish}}$.

As regards explicit modalities, performative verbs, V, both languages have specific synonymic series, for each of the types of imperative acts.

C : Rom. *a porunci, a comanda, a ordona, a pretinde, a cere, a obliga, a hotărî/decide, a spune,* etc. (Îți *poruncesc/comand* să te duci acolo) — Eng. *to order, to command, to require, to ask, to oblige/compel, to decide, to tell,* etc. (I *order* you to go there).

U-A : Rom. *a îndemna, a sfătui, a recomanda, a propune, a sugera* — Eng. *to urge, to advise, to recommend, to suggest,* etc.

Somebody may be urged or advised to do something bad. For such cases there are only verbs which name the actions without being performative verbs, e. g. Rom. *a incita* — Eng. *to incite ; a instiga* — *to instigate ; a ațița* — *to stir (up) ; *te incit să . . .* — **I incite you to . . .*

R : Rom. *a ruga, a implora, a solicita* — Eng. *to request, to ask, to implore, to beg, to solicit,* etc. *A ruga* is used both in the indicative *(te rog)* and in the optative *(te-aș ruga).* Rom. *te rog* and Eng. *please* have become typical formulas for R. Eng. *please* actually comes from a subjunctive.

W : Rom. *a ura, a blestema ;* Eng. *to wish, to curse.* Eng. *to wish* is ambiguous because it corresponds both to the performative verb *a ura* and to the modal non-defective verb *a dori.*

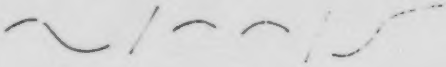
With the exception of the verbs belonging to the series U-A, the negative forms of sentences with performative verbs are : Rom. *poruncesc să nu . . .* — Eng. *I order you not to . . . ; te rog să nu . . .* — *I ask/request you not to . . . ; îți urez să nu . . .* — *I wish you not to . . .,* and not *nu-ţi poruncesc* ... — *I don't order you* ...; *nu te rog* ... — *I don't ask/request you* ...; *nu-ţi urez* ... *I don't wish you* ... which would annul the respective acts. The negation of the performative verb is possible with U-A : *nu te sfătuiesc s ăpleci* — *I don't advise you to go*, expressing doubt about the chances of the respective action *(going)*.

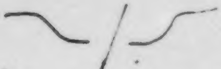
We now pass to a few oppositions concerning imperative acts and their realization in the two languages.

1. O/U-A/R
2. peremptory/normal/weak/polite

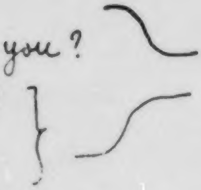
We have excluded wishes from the first series of oppositions, because they belong to a special type of act, having many fixed formulations.

O/U-A/R is an opposition which is easily neutralized, as is proved by the ambiguity of imperative forms. The opposition is marked a) obligatorily by a suprasegmental means — intonation contours — and b) optionally by various specific expressions. The opposition marked by intonation is similar in Romanian and English.

O/U – A/R 

For English the opposition  is obligatory, but not specific. We find it with commands:

Don't wait for me, will you?
Come here, will you?
Don't be late!



marking an opposition of intensity (falling tune).

The degree of optionality of certain specific expressions for each act is far greater in Romanian. Examples :

O :	Fă asta !	—	Do it !
U-A :	Fă asta.	—	Do it, please. Do it, will you ?
R :	(Te rog,) fă asta	—	Do it, will you ? Please, do it.

The opposions O/U-A and O/R are marked in both languages in the case of modal and performative verbs by the transition indicative/optative-conditional. Examples :

Rom. trebuie — ar trebui for O/U-A
Eng. must should

Rom. vreau / doresc } să — aş vrea / aş dori } să
Eng. I want / mean / wish } you to do it — I should like you to do it
} for O/R

2. The opposition peremptory/normal/weak/polite exists in both languages, being marked by special means.

In Romanian, peremptory command is marked by

— the future : *Vei pleca acolo (fără comentarii*' !

— the elimination of the verb : (Ieşi) *afară !*

— constructions without a verb, with an adverb and a preposition : *Jos cu el !*

— the imperative with a subject : *Tu să taci !*

— the performative use of *a pofti, a invita* (which generally designate U-A) :Te poftesc / invit } să taci !

English shares with Romanian some of these means of marking a peremptory command :

— the future, but especially the modal future : *You shall do it !*

— the elimination of the verb : (Get) *out !*

— constructions without a verb, with an adverb and a preposition : *Down with him !*

— the imperative with a subject : *You be silent !* (in English, the absence of the subject is a general constraint with the imperative).

— a specific means of intensifying a command in English is the use of the verb *do :* Do sit down.

In both languages, the semantic nature of certain verbs marks the degree of intensity of a command peremptory/weak : *a obliga — to oblige, urmează să — you are to.*

A weak command, as well as a polite one, are realized in both languages by transforming the order into a request and are rendered by Rom. *te rog* — Eng. *please* and by the typical English means of question tags *(will you? can you?* etc.). Sometimes the opposition O/R is marked by the position of *te rog, please : final/initial.*

O : Fă asta, *te rog!*	R : *Te rog,* fă asta!
Do it, *please!*	*Please,* do it!

Sometimes, with *please* and *will you,* the modification of the intonation contour may render the order more peremptory : *Shut up, will you! — Vorba (ați înțeles?)!*

For reinforcing an urge or even a request, the verb *to do* is often used in English : U : *Do have some more tea!* R : *Do let's go to the party!*

Polite formulation (the feature [+ polite]) does away with the opposition O/U-A R. It is achieved by two types of transformations :

a) Interrogative transformation by introducing the verbs Rom. *vrei, poți,* Eng. *will you, can you,* etc. or the interrogative expressions Rom. *Ești așa de drăguț/amabil?* Eng. *Will you be so kind?,* etc.

They are types of rhetorical questions inquiring about the interlocutor's willingness with the intention of performing

an O : *Vrei să închizi fereastra? — Will you shut the window (please)?* which are equivalents of *Închide fereastra! Shut the window (please)!*

an U : *Vreți să veniți la cină? — Will you come to dinner?,* which are equivalents of *Veniți la cină! — Come to dinner, please!*

a R : *Vrei s-o faci, te rog? — Will you do it, please?,* which are equivalents of *Te rog, fă-o! — Please, do it!*

In certain situations, the interrogative formulation of a request is actually a permission that is being asked : *Pot aș putea să deschid fereastra? — May/can I open the window?* They are equivalents of *Dați-mi voie să deschid fereastra! — Please, allow me to open the window!*

b) Negative transformation, following the interrogative transformation : *N-ai vrea s-o faci? — Wouldn't you do it?*

In order to mark even further the opposition O/U-A/R, in the framework of the feature [+ polite], the opposition of intonation contour is maintained and, optionally, the use of the conditional-optative in order to mark a polite request as against a polite command : Rom. *ai vrea, ai putea* — Eng. *would you, could you,* etc.

O : *Vrei să vii cu mine?* — equivalent : *Vino cu mine!*
Will you come with me? — equivalent : *Come with me!*

R : *Ai vrea să vii cu mine?* — equivalent : *(Te rog) vino cu mine!*
Would you come with me? — equivalent : *Please, come with me!*

REQUEST

			2nd person							
			affir				Neg			
			R		E		R		E	
			Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
Ia	imperative proper		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ib	R : subjunctive	E : —	+	+	—	—	+	+	—	—
II	future		—		—		—		—	
III	infinitive		—		—		—		—	
IVa	modal defective verbs + impers. constructions									
	R : —	E : **will** **would** **may** **might**	—	—	+	+	—	—	+	+
	fii bun...	**be so kind**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
IVb	non-defective verbs									
	R : **a vrea** **a dori** **a putea**	E : **to want** **to wish** **to desire**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
V	performative verbs									
	R : **a ruga** **a implora** **a solicita**	E : **to request** **to ask** **to implore** **to beg** **to solicit**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

ORDER

		1st Person				2nd Person				3nd Person			
		Affirm		Neg		Affir		Neg		Affir		Neg	
		R	E	R	E	R	E	R	E	R	E	R	E
		SgPl	SgPl	SgPl	SgPl	SgPl	SgPl	SgPl	SgPl	SgPl	SgPl	SgPl	SgPl
Ia	imperative proper	— —	— —	— —	— —	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	— —	— —	— —	— —
Ib	R : subjunctive / E : aux. **let** + short inf.	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	— —	+ +	— —	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +
II	future R : vei + inf. ai să + inf. / E : **you will / shall + short inf.**	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +
III	R : long inf. (verbal noun) / verbal noun	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	+	—	+	+
IVa	modal defective verbs + impers. constructions R : **trebuie să** **este necesar să** **este cazul să** **ai de** **urmează să** / E : **you must / have to / 've got to** **it is necessary that you (should)** **you are to**	—	+	—	+	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+	+	+	+
IVb	non-defective verbs R : **a vrea** **a dori** / E : **to want** **to mean** **to wish**	— —	— —	— —	— —	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +				
V	Performative verbs R : **a porunci** **a comanda** **a ordona** **a pretinde** **a cere** **a obliga** **a hotărî / decide** **a spune** etc. / E : **to order** **to command** **to bid** **to require** **to ask** **to demand** **to oblige / compel** **to decide** **to tell**	— —	— —	— —	— —	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +

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URGE — ADVICE

			1st Person				2nd Person			
			Neg		Affir		Neg		Affir	
			R SgPl	R SgPl	R SgPl	R SgPl	E SgPl	E SgPl	E SgPl	E SgPl
I_a	imperative proper		—	—	—	—	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +
I_b	R : subjunctive	E : aux. let + short inf.	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	— —	+ +	— —
II	future		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
III	infinitive		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
V_a	modal defective verbs + impers. constructions R : ar trebui e / ar fi cazul să e / ar fi bine să se cuvine / s-ar cuveni să este recomandabil e / ar fi necesar să e / ar fi de dorit să e / ar fi timpul să	E : should ought to had better it is advisable it is desirable it is necessary that / for it's (high) time might can, could	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +
IV_b	non-defective verbs R : a putea	E : –	—	—	—	—	+ +	— —	+ +	— —
V	performative verbs R : a indemna să a sfătui să a recomanda să a propune să a sugera să	E : to urge / impel / prompt to to advise to to recommend to to suggest that to propose	— +	— +	— +	— +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +

WISH — IMPRECATION

		1st Person				2nd Person				3nd Person			
		W		I		W		I		W		I	
		R	R	R	R	R	R	E	E	E	E	E	E
		SgPl	SgPl	SgPl	SgPl	SgPl	SgPl	SgPl	SgPl	SgPl	SgPl	SgPl	SgPl
Ia	imperative proper	—	—	—	—	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+	+	+	+
Ib	R : subjunctive / E : synthetical analytical } subjunctive	— +	— +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +
II	future	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
III	infinitive	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
IV	non-defective verbs R : **a dori** / E : **to wish**	— +	— +	— —	— —	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +
V	R: **a ura** **a blestema** / E : **to wish** **to curse**	— —	— —	— —	— —	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +

VERB AND DETERMINATIVE INTERPLAY. CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS IN THE STUDY OF ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN

POMPILIU PECULEA

1.1. The meaning of determinative" (in this paper) confines itself to adverbs and prepositions which determine temporal values when associated with tenses in English and Romanian.

1.2. The abstract character of analytic languages raises difficulties in understanding the logical functioning of their verb mechanism. A case in point is Romanian, whose synthetic character is incongruous with the inmost logic of the English verb. A parallel functioning of tenses and determinatives in teaching English provides the student with a firmer grasp of the verb mechanism comprehension. Since determinatives are semasiologically implicit, the inmost abstract character of the English verb mechanism becomes evident and within everybody's grasp if related to the determinative.

1.3. This analysis lays special emphasis on the system, possible interferences and exceptions being sidestepped. Consequently, the paper puts forward for consideration reference points only, and confines itself to general suggestions intended for better organizing the teaching process.

1.4. The analysis is not exhaustive. Only determinatives which colligate temporal points and determine temporal relations (except "often") have been used in the present paper. Statistical lists of determinatives have been deliberately omitted, for the analysis emphasizes only logical relations between the two systems.

1.5. Teaching verb via determinative is not a law. It is a help in understanding the English tense logic, whence its practical purpose : a systemic organization of the teaching process.

* * *

2. The analysis makes use of two starting points : English — (Romanian) and Romanian — (English).

2.1. When English is the starting point in the analysis the following components have been taken under consideration :

A. The temporal axis of basic (simple) tenses — independent system — on which the three pivotal temporal values are placed.

B. The temporal axis of perfect tenses — dependent system — which are (is) conditioned by the value of the three basic tenses.

C. Determinatives "at a given time", when simple tenses are under consideration.

D. Determinatives "by a given time", when perfect tenses are under consideration.

2.2. The English verb/determinative systemic relation may be illustrated as follows :

Determinative — Indef. ╲ Simple-TENSE-Perfect ╱ Indef. — Determinative
Determinative — Cont. ╱ ╲ Cont. — Determinative

2.3. The analysis is based on statistical and functional comparisons between sentences in English (12) and Romanian (12). The following abbreviations have been used :

E	(English)	R	(Romanian)
P	(Present)	P	(prezent)
Pa	(Past)	PC	(perfect compus)
f	(Future)	V	(viitor)
pp	(Present Perfect)	I	(imperfect)
pap	(Past Perfect)	ps	(perfect simplu)
fp	(Future Perfect)	mmcp	(mai-mult-ca-perfect)
i	(indefinite)	va	(viitor anterior)
c	(continuous)	D	(determinant)
D	(determinative)	la	(la un moment dat)
at	(at a given time)	pînă	(pînă la un moment dat)
by	(by a given time)		

Note : Capital letters have been used for pivotal tenses.

2.4. *Examples :*

E(at)	R(la)
He *wrote* a letter *yesterday*	*A scris* o scrisoare *ieri*
He *often writes* letters	*Adeseori scrie* scrisori
He *will write* a letter *tomorrow*	*Mîine va scrie* o scrisoare
He *was writing* letters *all day long yesterday*	*A scris* scrisori *ieri toată ziua*
He *is writing* a letter *now*	*Scrie* o scrisoare *acum*
He *will be writing* letters *this time tomorrow*	*Mîine pe timpul acesta va scrie* scrisori
A(at——Pa——P——f——(i+c)	A(la)——PC——P——V——

E(by)	R(pînă)
He *had written* a lot of letters *by last year*	*Scrisese* multe scrisori *pînă anul trecut*

He *has written* two letters *by now*	*A scris* două scrisori *pînă acum*
He *will have written* a lot of letters *by next year*	*Va scrie* multe scrisori *pînă anul viitor*

E(for)	R(de)
He *had been writing* letters *for two hours* (when I came)	*Scria* scrisori *de două ore* (cînd am venit)
He *has been writing* letters *for two hours*	*Scrie* scrisori *de două ore*
He *will have been writing* letters *for two hours* (when I come)	*Va scrie* scrisori *de două ore* (cînd voi veni)
B(by) —pap——pp——fp——(i)	B(pînă)——mmcp——PC——V—
B(for)—pap——pp——fp——(c)	B(de)———I———— P ——V—

Note : B(de) Romanian simple tenses (axis) versus B(for) English perfect tenses (axis).

2.4.1.1. Statistical conclusions.

Ai+Ac : (AE6≠AR3 verbal forms) ≠ (AE3=AR3 tenses)

Bi+Bc : (BE6≠BR5 verbal forms) ≠ (BE3≠BR5 tenses)

A(i+c)+B(i+c) : (El ≠R5 verbal forms) ≠ (E6≠R5 tenses)

Explanation :

Ai+Ac : The difference is given by the formally marked actions in progress (English) as opposed to the bifunctionality of tenses in Romanian (AE≠AR3). Nevertheless, the tenses coincide. It follows that the binarity verbal form tense is characteristic of English only and the lack of "be+ing" mark in Romanian is compensated for by different suppletive means, i.e. bifunctionality and determinatives (in our case), as well as by situational and lexical meaning, which also compensates for the lacunae in the morphological system.

Bi+Bc : The corresponding Romanian tenses are more numerous than those mentioned in the previous case (BE6≠BR5). Since verbal forms and tenses coincide in Romanian, 5 tenses in Romanian versus 3 tenses in English occur in the second situation (BE≠BR5). The increased number of tenses in Romanian proves their polyfunctionality, also a means which compensates for the lacunae in the morphological system.

A(i+c) + B(i+c) : The contrast El2≠R5 is explained above (Ai+ +Ac). As to E6≠R5, the 1 tense difference is not obvious, since we have chosen only one corresponding tense from other available corresponding tenses.

2.4.1.2. The ratio of E/12 verbal forms to R/5 tenses and their determinatives :

	E		R	
f	tomorrow	=	mîine	V
fc	this time tomorrow	=	mîine pe timpul acesta	V
fp	by	=	pînă	V
fpc	for	=	de	V
P	often	=	adeseori	P
Pc	now	=	acum	P
ppc	for	=	de	P
Pa	yesterday	=	ieri	PC
Pac	all day long yesterday	=	ieri toată ziua	PC
pp	by	=	pînă	PC
papc	for	=	de	I
pap	by	=	pînă	mmcp

The verbal forms do not correspond in 9 cases out of 12, though the determinatives are equivalent.

2.4.2. Functional conclusions.

To bring into greater relief the contrast E/R, tenses have been replaced as follows :

	a	b	1	2	3	4
E	write	—D	will	have+d	be+d	be+ing
R	scri-	—T	voí	avea+t	fi+t	—

Note : —D and —T (b) are markers for past tenses ;
—d and —t are markers for past participles ;
"will" and "voí" (1) are markers for future forms.

at(c)	Pa	P	f	ab(yesterday)	a(often)	al(tomorrow)
	PC	P	V	a2(ieri)	a(adeseori)	al(mîine)
at(i)	Pac	Pc	fc	ab4(all day l. y.)	a4(now)	al4(this t. tom.)
	PC	P	V	a2(ieri toată z.)	a(acum)	al(mîine pe t. a.)
by(i)	pap	pp	fp	ab2(by last year)	a2(by now)	al2(by next y.)
	mmcp	PC	V	ab(pînă ...)	a2(pînă ...)	al(pînă ...)
by(c)	papc	ppc	fpc	ab24(for)	a24(for)	al24(for)
	PC	P	V	ab(de)	a(de)	al(de)

E—at(i)—R	E—at(c)—R	E—by(i)—R	E—by(c)—R
Pa—ab a2—PC	Pac—ab4 a2—PC	pap—ab2 ab—mmcp	papc—ab24 ab—I
P —a a —P	Pc —a4 a —P	pp —a2 a2—PC	ppc —a24 a —P
f —al al —V	fc —al4 al —V	fp —al2 al —V	fpc —al24 al —V
E=ab+a+al	E=ab4+a4+al4	E=ab2+a2+al2	E=ab24+a24+al24
R=a2+a+al	R=a2+a+al	R=ab+a2+al	R=ab+a+al
E≠R	E≠R	E≠R	E≠R

Four types of determinatives have been taken into consideration :

A "at a given time"(i)	B "by a given time"(i)
A "at a given time"(c) (limited duration)	B "by a given time"(c) (unlimited duration)

A/at(i) determinatives

The determinatives are connected to basic tenses with obligatory occurrence (ab+a+al) in English. Not only simple tenses but also perfect tenses (*a2*+a+al) may emphasize this relation in Romanian. Nevertheless, the difference E/R (in this case) is of no functional effect, for the "Perfect Compus" (intrusive in our system) is only formally different from the Past Tense. They play the same functional part in the sentence, the formal lack of similitude originates in the polyfunctionality the "Perfect Compus" is endowed with (which results from the synthetic character of Romanian). Consequently, though different tenses (formally), similar "at" determinatives imply similar tenses when functionality is basic criterion.

A/at (c) determinatives (limited duration)

The verbal forms are different (ab4+a4+al4 ≠ a2+a+al), the safe tenses (as above) occur in Romanian versus "be+ing" marked tenses in English. Points to notice : 1. The verbal forms differ, the temporal values are equivalent (functionally). 2. The three tenses in Romanian (basic tenses) occur for both indefinite and continuous basic tenses in English. 3. Though repeatedly stressed the correspondence "Past Tense Continuous (E) / "Imperfect (R)" ,the latter does not occur when "incidence" is stressed, e.g. He was writing a letter when I came = El *scria* o scrisoare cînd am venit).

To sum it up, when "at" determinatives occur (E/R) and they are semantically equivalent, the tenses differ formally for two reasons :

1. The binary aspect of the English verb.

2. The intrusive (in our system) "Perfect Compus'. "At" (i+c) determinatives require simple tenses with obligatory occurrence in English (analytic language, one-functional tenses), simple+perfect tenses in Romanian (synthetic language, polyfunctional tenses). However, they correspond functionally. The polyfunctional Romanian tense compensates for the lacunae in the morphological system.

B/by (i) determinatives

The determinatives are connected to perfect tenses with obligatory occurrence in English (ab2+a2+al2). An intrusive "Viitor" (in this case) is present in Romanian. Though different tenses (except pap=mmcp), the relation with the same determinative supposes functional equivalence.

B/for (c) determinatives (unlimited duration)

The formal difference is salient. Not only the "be + ing" mark points out the contrast, but different subsystems are opposed (three perfect continuous tenses in English — ab24 + a24 + a124 — versus three nonperfect tenses in Romanian — ab + a + a1). The double value of these three simple tenses (R) is an obvious proof of polyfunctionality in Romanian, perfectivity and "be + ing" mark are the plus English is formally endowed with. Consequently, the Romanian temporal axis I + P + V is a dependent and a reference system at the same time, the English temporal axis pap + pp + fp is a dependent system only.

To briefly express the chief points of what has been said, when "by"determinatives are under consideration the tense contrast is stressed by the binary aspect of the verb in English and the three intrusive simple tenses in Romanian. By (c) determinatives require perfect tenses with obligatory occurrence in English, simple and perfect tenses (preponderantly simple tenses) in Romanian. The strong relation verb/determinative determines functional equivalence (and proves it).

2.4.3. The two systems (E/R) do not overlap (formally) but contrast as follows :

2. P = P + Pc + ppc   3. PC = Pa + Pac + pp   5. mmcp = pap
1. V = fc + fp + fpc   4. I = papc

In 3 cases (1 + 2 + 3) out of 5 (10 verbal forms in English) the Romanian tenses stand for simple and perfect tenses, indefinite and continuous as well.

Limited duration determinatives are associated with simple and perfect tenses in Romanian. In English they are associated with perfect tenses only. Unlimited duration determinatives join simple tenses in Romanian (I + P + V), while in English they join perfect tenses. It is for that reason that we must draw a clear-cut distinction between verbal form (i/c) and tense when teaching English, because formal aspect markers do not occur in Romanian. As far as extrasystemical means helpful to mediate the understanding of morphological differences, the determinative is a case in point.

2.4.4. To take a concise view of the subject, we illustrate the contrast as follows :

		E	R
Formal binary aspect	— indefinite	+	+
	— continuous	+	—
Functional binary aspect	— indefinite	+	+
	— continuous	+	+
"At" (i) determinatives	— simple tenses	+	+
	— perfect tenses	—	+
"By" (i) determinatives	— perfect tenses	+	+
	— simple tenses	—	+
"At" (c) determinatives	— simple tenses	+	+
	— perfect tenses	—	+
"By" (c) determinatives	— perfect tenses	+	—
	— simple tenses	—	+

One-functional tenses	—	+
Polyfunctional tenses	+	—
Analytic language	—	+
Synthetic language	+	—

In 10 cases out of 16 (conclusions included) the contrast is evident. If we take a deeper look into the subject, the polyfunctional tense (in Romanian) comes to the fore. It compensates for the lacunae in the morphological system. Since we consider language and thought overlapped in their interrelation, we must assume that English and Romanian reflect the same reality. Though formally different, they overlap when functionality is standard of judgement. The determinative is a proof as well as a means to understand it.

* * *

3.1. When Romanian is the starting point in an analysis, the temporal axes and determinatives have been considered as follows :

A. The temporal axis of simple tenses
B. The temporal axis of perfect tenses
C. Determinatives „la un moment dat"
B. Determinatives „pînă la un moment dat"

3.2. If we abide with the criteria we have approached in 2.1, the Romanian verb/determinative systemic relation (if functionally understood) takes the same form as in 2.2. If not, the following formal relation is available (which corresponds to the Romanian verb system) :

Determinative — Simple — TENSE — Perfect — Determinative

The relation is simple for the lack of aspect markers in Romanian. Nevertheless, we must use the relation approached in 2.2, since we cannot use two different criteria with the view of outlining one unitary (if possible) system based upon formal as well as functional standards of judgement.

3.3. The same abbreviations have been utilized (see 2.3). The analysis is based on statistical and functional comparisons between sentences in Romanian (16) and English (16). Examples :

	R (la + de)	E (at + for)
A	*Ieri scria* o scrisoare	He *was writing* a letter *yesterday*
	Scria scrisoarea *de două ore* (cînd l-am chemat)	He *had been writing* the letter *for two hours* (when I called him)
	Scrie adeseori scrisori	He *often writes* letters
	Scrie o scrisoare *acum*	He *is writing* a letter *now*
	Scrie scrisoarea *de două ore*	He *has been writing* the letter *for two hurs*

Va scrie scrisoarea *mîine*	He *will write* the letter *tomorrow*
Mîine pe timpul acesta va scrie scrisoarea	He *will be writing* the letter *this time tomorrow*
Va scrie scrisoarea de două ore (cînd . . .)	He *will have been writing* the letter *for two hours* (when . . .)
A (la) — I — P — (de)	A (at) — Pac + pac — P + Pc + ppc — f + fc + fpc (for)

R (pînă)	E (by)
B *Scrisese scrisoarea pînă la ora șase*	He *had written* the letter *by six o'clock*
Scrisese scrisoarea *ieri*	He *had written* the letter *yesterday*
Ieri a scris o scrisoare	He *wrote* a letter *yesterday*
A scris o scrisoare *toată ziua ieri*	He *was writing* a letter *all day long yesterday*
A scris o scrisoare *pînă acum*	He *has written* a letter *by now*
A scris o scrisoare *pînă la ora șase*	He *had written* a letter *by six o'clock*
Pînă acum scrise o scrisoare	He *has written* a letter *by now*
Pînă la ora șase *va fi scris scrisoarea*	He *will have written* the letter *by six o'clock*
B (pînă) — mmcp — PC — ps — va — (la)	B (by) — pap + pap — Pa+Pac +pp+pap—pp—fp (at)

It would be impossible to discuss systematically the sentences, if not arranged as follows :

a) A (la, i) P + V P + f
b) A (la, c) I + P + V / Pac + Pc + fc
c) A (pînă, i) —
d) A (de, c) I + P + V / papc + ppc + fpc
e) B (pînă, i) mmcp + PC + ps + va /
pap + pp +pap + pp + fp
f) B (de, c) —
g) B (la, i) mmcp + PC / pap + Pa
h) B (la, c) PC Pac

The intrusive determinatives „la/pînă“ at the level of both simple and perfect tenses in Romanian oblige us to approach the contrast R/E from 8 points of view. Note also 2 more tenses, of low frequency in Romanian (ps + va), which complete the verbal system in Romanian (7 tenses).

3.4.1. Statistical conclusions.

Ai+Ac(la) : (AR3≠AE5 verbal forms)≠(AR3=AE3 tenses)
Ai+Ac(pînă+de) : (AR3=AE3 verbal forms)=(AR3=AE3 tenses)
Bi+Bc(pînă) : (BR4≠BE3 verbal forms)=(BR4≠BE3 tenses)
Bi+Bc(la) : (BR2≠BE3 verbal forms)≠(BR2=BE2 tenses)
A+B(i+c, la+pînă+de) : (R7≠E12 verbal) forms)≠(R7≠ E6 tenses)

OBS.: The English verb system is integrally represented when Romanian is the starting point in the analysis. When English is the starting point in the analysis only 5 tenses out of 7 (R) occur, if we choose the best tense correspondent.

Explanation :

Ai + Ac (la) : The difference results from the contrast aspect marker (E) polifunctionality (R)

Ai + Ac (pînă+de) : No difference, verbal forms and tenses coincide.

Bi + Bc (pînă) : The corresponding Romanian tenses are this time more numerous : 4 perfect tenses (R) / 3 perfect tenses (E)

Bi + Bc (la) : The aspect marker (E) determines the 1 tense difference.

OBS.: Note the ever constant number of Romanian tenses in both verbal form and tense situation. In English the ratio fluctuates.

3.4.2. The ratio of R/7 tenses to E/12 verbal forms + tenses and their determinatives :

	R		E	
PC	pînă (acum)	=	by (now)	pp
PC	pînă (la 6)	=	by (6)	pap
PC	ieri	=	yesterday	Pa
PC	toată ziua ieri	=	all day long yesterday	Pac
P	adeseori	=	often	P
P	acum	=	now	Pc
P	de	=	for	ppc
V	miine	=	tomorrow	f
V	miine pe timpul acesta	=	this time tomorrow	fc
V	de două ore (cind . . .)	=	for two hours (when . . .)	fpc
I	ieri	=	yesterday	Pac
I	de două ore (cind . . .)	=	for two hours (when . . .)	papc
mmcp	pînă	=	by	pap
mmcp	ieri	=	yesterday	pap
ps	pînă (acum)	=	by (now)	pp
va	pînă	=	by	fp

The verbal forms do not correspond in 11 cases out of 16, though the determinatives are equivalent.

3.4.3. Functional conclusions.

The same notations have been used (see 2.4.2.) to substitute for the verbal categories.

A (la, i)	P V		a (adeseori)	al (mîine)
	P f		a (often)	al (tomorrow)
A (la,)	I P V	ab (ieri)	a1 (acum)	a1 (mîine pe t.a.)
	Pac Pc fc	ab4 (yesterday)	a4 (now)	a1 (this time t.)
A (pînă, i)				
A (de, c)	I P V	ab24 (for)	a (de)	a1 (de)
	papc ppc fpc	ab (de)	a24 (for)	a124 (for)
B (pînă, i)	mmcp PC PC ps va	ab (pînă)	a2 (pînă)	a2 (pînă)
	pap pp pap pp fp	ab2 (by)	a2 (by)	ab2 (by)
			ab (pînă)	a12 (by)
			a2 (by)	a13 (p.)
B (de, c)				
B (la, i)	mmcp PC	ab (ieri)	a2 (ieri)	
	pap Pa	ab2 (yesterday)	ab (yesterday)	
B (la, c)	PC	a2 (ieri toată ziua)		
	Pac	ab4 (all day long yesterday)		

R (A) — (la, i) — E		R (A) — (la, c) — E		R (A) — (de, c) — E	
P-a	a-P	I-ab	ab4-Pac	I-ab	ab24-papc
V-a1	a1-f	P-a	a4-Pc	P-a	a24-ppc
		V-a1	a14-fc	V-al	a124-fpc
R = a + a1		R = ab + a + a1		R = ab + a + a1	
E = a + a1		E = ab24 + a24 + a124		E = ab4 + a4 + a14	
R = E		R ≠ E		R ≠ E	

R (B) — (pînă, i) — E		R (B) — (la, i) — E		R (B) — la,.c) — E	
mmcp-ab	ab2-pap	mmcp-ab	ab2-pap	PC-a2	ab4-Pac
PC -a2	a2-pp	PC -a2	ab-Pa		
PC -ab	ab2-pap				
ps -ab	a2-pp				
va -a13	a12-fp				
R=ab+a2+ab+ab+a13		R=ab+a2		R=a2	
E=ab2+a2+ab2+a2+a12		E=ab2+ab		E=ab4	
R ≠ E		R ≠ E		R ≠ E	

A/la + pînă (i) determinatives

No difference. Romanian simple tenses cannot be associated with "pînă" determinatives (except V, which has not been included in our case). As far as "la" determinatives are concerned, the tenses are equivalent (R=E).

A/la + de (c) determinatives

Unlike English, where determinatives (at + by) and tenses (simple or perfect, indefinite or continuous) are associated with obligatory occurrence, all the types of determinatives may be connected to simple tenses in Romanian. Note that only simple tenses join "de" determinatives in Romanian. Also note the English tense system (simple + perfect + "be + ing") versus the simple tense system (R). The English perfect tense system is intrusive here.

B/pînă + la (i) determinatives

The perfect tenses in Romanian have functional equivalent tenses in English (though different verbal forms), except the last case (PC/Pa= perfect/simple).

B/de + la (c) determinatives

Since no Romanian "de" determinative is associated with perfect tense equivalents, no English perfect tense correspondent is included (in this case). The only contrast is PC/Pac, the same intrusive Past as above.

To conclude : Perfectivity + "be + ing" mark (E)/Romanian. "La" indefinite determinatives in Romanian are associated with simple as well as perfect tenses, in English only with simple tenses. "Pînă + de" determinatives in Romanian join simple as well as perfect tenses, in English only perfect tenses.

3.4.4. When Romanian is the starting point in the analysis, the two systems contrast as follows :

1. PC=pp + pap + Pa + Pac
2. P=P + Pc + ppc
3. V=f + fc + fpc
4. I=Pac + papc
5. mmcp=pap + pap
7. va=fp

In 4 cases (1+2+3+4) out of 7 the Romanian tenses stand for simple and perfect tenses, indefinite and continuous as well. 5+7 are equivalent, while the "Perfect simplu" is approximately equivalent to the Present Perfect.

3.4.5. The contrast may be illustrated :

		R	E
Formal binary aspect	— indefinite	+	+
	— continuous	—	+
Functional binary aspect	— indefinite	+	+
	— continuous	+	+
"La" (i) determinatives	— simple tenses	+	+
	— perfect tenses	+	—
"Pînă" (i) determinatives	— simple tenses	—	—
	— perfect tenses	+	+
"La" (c) determinatives	— simple tenses	+	+
	— perfect tenses	+	—
"Pînă" (c) determinatives	— simple tenses	+	—
	— perfect tenses	—	+
One-functional tenses	. . . .	—	+
Polyfunctional tenses	. . . .	+	—
Analytic language	. . . .	—	+
Synthetic language	. . . .	+	—

In 9 cases out of 16 the contrast is evident.

* * *

4. Conclusions.

4.1.1. If we juxtapose the two tables (2.4.4./3.4.5.) and draw a unitary conclusion from the bidirectional analysis, we note that the contrast and similitude coincide at a general level (only one difference relative to "by/pînă" determinatives — simple tenses — the difference being matter of choice, the simple tense has been considered more appropiate to our intention than the perfect one when Romanian is starting point in analysis). Broadly speaking, the contrast results from formal and systemic differences, the similitude from parallel functioning.

4.1.2. Binary aspect markers in English contrast the polyfunctional Romanian tense. The contrast, which lays in the disimilar analytic/synthetic character of the languages under consideration, has determined the clear-cut distinction (in the present paper) between verbal form and tense. The marked binary aspect in English, two facets of the same tense, opposes the one-faceted tense in Romanian. However, regardless of the obvious surface differences, functionally the tenses overlap.

4.1.3. One-functional tenses in English contrast Romanian polyfunctional tenses. The symmetrical English verb system (3 pairs) contrast with the not so symmetrical Romanian verb system (3 pairs+1). The occurrence of each tense in one typical situation is obligatory in English (simple or perfect), in Romanian the subsystems may interchange (polyfunctionality).

4.2.1. The interplay verb/determinative is conclusive. Determinatives of indefinite or continuous aspect, simple or perfect verbal action are compatible with equivalent tenses in English, in Romanian they interfere. Unlimited duration determinatives are associated with simple tenses in Romanian (I+P+V), limited duration determinatives with both simple (note the frequency of simple tenses) and perfect tenses. Simple or perfect tense determinatives may also be cross-associated with simple or perfect tenses (R). It follows that the English tense has an intrasystemic (simple or perfect) and intracategorial (indefinite or continuous) character, the Romanian tense an intersystemic (simple and perfect) and intercategorial (indefinite and continuous) character (when related to the English verb system). The Romanian tense (as a general rule) confines itself to a formal independent functional level.

4.2.2. The determinative system is a justification of the verb mechanism's logical functioning. Since in both languages the determinatives are semantically equivalent, it is easier to grasp the logic of the English verb by means of criteria closer to everybody's understanding. It is an agreement between peculiar logical criteria (English verb mechanism) and general lexical criteria (English and Romanian equivalent determinatives), which concur to result in a faster and more accurate comprehension of the English tense system functioning. The translation of the conceptual structure into its equivalent surface manifestation converts the English verb system into readily perceptible form. Unfortunately, the intercategorial and intersystemic character of Romanian tenses makes the verb/determinative parallel teaching one-sided. We can successfully teach English tenses via determinatives, but not so successfully when Romanian tenses are under consideration. Consequently, the system is not reversible and teaching tenses via determinatives (if a help in better understanding the English tense logic) fails to become a general rule.

5. We have tried a unitary method of approaching the present contrastive study : substitution. Though at first glance too complicated it proves to be useful and relevant to readily perceiving the underlying differences. We suppose it a helpful time-saver and extremely relevant when more than two languages are subject to analysis.

6. Instead of "Bibliography".

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A POSSIBLE APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF VERBAL MODALITY IN CONTRASTIVE GRAMMAR

RODICA CULCER

0. There are at least two possible approaches to verbal modality in a contrastive grammar. One of them is the semantic method which consist in rendering the meaning of the various moods and modal verbs of one language in the other. Another possibility is to see what the behaviour of moods and modal verbs is in each language separately from the point of view of a generative transformational grammar and then try to construct a contrastive grammar of modality. The latter is the method we have adopted in the present paper.

It must, however, be mentioned that the choice of a starting point is a difficult problem for a subject such as ours since the use of moods and modal verbs in English and Romanian varies considerably on the level of surface structure. What we have attempted here has been to apply a certain treatment of the Auxiliary to sentences where Subjunctive and the Romanian Conjunctiv are used respectively with a view to find a common level of analysis for modality in both languages.

1.1. The examples we consider relevant for our analysis are the types a sentences where mools can be replaced by modal verbs in English while in Romanian we have to use the Conjunctiv and there is no other possibility :

1. *Mother insisted that we take warm clothes*
2. *Mother insisted that we should take warm clothes*
3. *Mama a insistat (ca) să ne luăm haine groase*

While in English we can have both subjunctive and *should*, in Romanian we can only use the Conjunctiv.

There are also cases when the latter is rendered in English by means of Infinitive or Gerundial constructions such as after verbs of temporal modality :

4. *It began to rain*
5. *It began raining*
6. *A început să plouă*

Consequently we have first investigated the distribution of the Conjunctiv in Romanian and its English equivalent. This amounts to a semantic classification which can be refined on syntactic grounds. Before listing the verbs that require the Conjunctiv in the complement clause we must remark that in English there are more possibilities to express complement clauses than there are in Romanian where we usually have either the Indicative or the Conjunctiv. The Infinitive is somentimes used but on a narrower scale. Thereofore we should expect more verbs in Romanian to be followed by Conjunctiv than those followed by Subjunctive in English. Ignoring for a short while the problem of the clauses of purpose, cause, and condition we can say that in English the Subjunctive is required by a relatively small group of verbs — verbs of command, of reactive force, some of the emotives and some other verbs of related semantic classes.

1.2. The distribution of the Conjunctiv in Romanian is, roughly speaking, the following :

a) verbs of temporal modality

a începe, a înceta, a continua, a conteni ; etc
(to start, to begin, to continue, to cease, to leave off, to stop)

7. *Maria a început să plîngă*
8. *Mary started to cry*
9. *Mary started crying*
10. *Maria s-a oprit să bea un pahar cu apă*
11. *Ion s-a oprit din cîntat*
12. *They stopped to drink beer /* drinking beer*
13. *They stopped smoking /* to smoke*

In English the equivalents of these verbs are followed by (i) the Gerund or the Infinitive or (ii) the Gerund only *(leave off, cease,* etc). Sentences (10) — (13) point out the fact that after *a se opri* we use the Infinitive as an equivalent of the English infinitive construction (in fact a clause of purpose) and a verbal noun preceded by preposition as an equivalent of the English Gerundial construction.

b) psychological verbs, the so-called emotives :

a (-i) plăcea, a prefera, a detesta, a urî, a-i displace, a dori
(to like, to dislike, to prefer, to hate, etc)

14. *Imi place să mă scol devreme dimineața*
15. *Nu-mi displace să mă plimb în ploaie*
16. *Children like playing more than studying*
17. *My wife hates my reading the newspaper at breakfast*

These verbs are followed by the Conjunctiv in Romanian and by the Gerund in English. *Like* is also followed by an Infinitive when it means *prefer, want :*

18. *I shouldn't like to work as hard as he does*
19. *I don't like to refuse him but I'm afraid I shall have to*

It is interesting to see that *a-i place* in Romanian can have a factive and a non-factive reading, the former requiring the Indicative and the latter the Infinitive :

20. *Imi place că sînt aici*
21. *Imi place să fiu aici*

While (20) implies that I am here, (21) does not. Facultives require the Indicative in Romanian so that this seems to be the explanation for the difference between the two sentences above :

22. *Mi-am dat seama că ploua*
23. *Imi pare rău că a avut un accident*
24. *Regret că m-am purtat urît cu el*

c) verbs of intention

a intenţiona, a vrea, a urmări, a ţinti, a încerca, a eşua, a spera, etc.

(to intend, to wish, to want, to aim at, to fail, to hope, etc.)

25. *Intenţionez să-mi cumpăr o casă nouă*
26. *Vreau să merg la mare*
27. *Sper să reuşesc la examen*
28. *I want to buy a new car*
29. *I intend to take another course in literature*
30. *I hope he comes soon*
31. *I hope he may be here in time*

d) verbs of command and suggestion

to order, to command, to suggest, to insist, to dispose, to determine, etc)

a ordona, a comanda, a dispune, a aproba, a hotărî, a insista, etc)

32. *I order that he be removed from the room*
33. *Am ardonat să fie trimis în misiune*
34. *Am sugerat să plecăm la ora cinci*
35. *I suggested that we should go to the mountains for the week-end*

e) verbs of persuasion

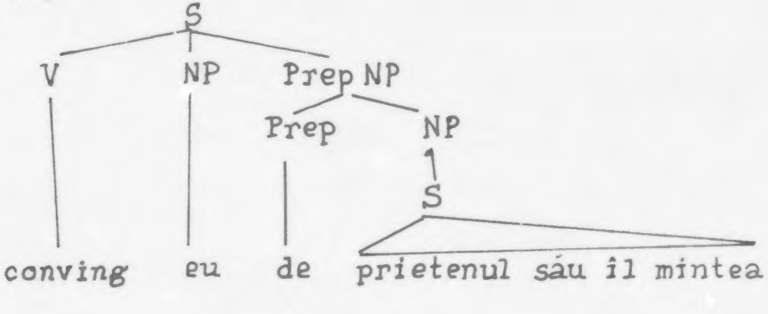
a convinge, a hotărî (pe cineva), etc.

(to persuade, to convince, to determine)

36. *L-am convins să vină cu noi*
37. *L-am convins că prietenul sau îl minte*
38. *I have persuaded him to come with us*
39. *I have convinced him that his friend was lying*

Sentences (36) and (37) do not differ only with respect to the type of complement clause they admit but also in meaning. Their English equivalents take a non-finite and a *that*-clause respectively We can consider the verb of (37) to be followed by a preposition *(de)* which gets deleted when the complementizer *that* is placed. The DS of (37) wold be something like :

4o)



As is known the Subjunctive is used in such cases only when the complement subject is identical to the matrix indirect object. However, it must be noted that in colloquial Romanian sentences such as (41) can be grammatical if they have the meaning of (42) :

41. *L-am convins să vină Maria cu noi*
42. *L-am convins s-o lase / să fie de acord să vină și Maria cu noi*
43. *I have persuaded him that Mary should come with us*

We draw then the conclusion that there is an intervening sentence in (41) whose verb requires the use of Conjunctiv in the complement sentence. It is important to link this evidence with the examples we have given in the beginning where modal verbs in English were rendered only by the Conjunctiv in Romanian. We may already wonder whether it is not the case that there is a level of analysis common to both languages where the verbs triggering the Conjunctiv are present. But this will be discussed later on.

f) miscellaneous verbs
a obișnui, a se întimpla, a învăța
(to use to, to happen, to learn)

44. *S-a întimplat să vină Ion la masă*
45. *S-a întimplat că a venit Ion la masă*
46. *John happened to come to dinner*
47. *Am învățat să vorbesc englezește*
48. *I learned to speak English*

Except *a se itimpla* which can take both the Indicative and the Conjunctiv the other verbs can only take the latter mood in the complement clause.

g) causative verbs
a face (pe cineva să facă ceva)
(to make, to cause, etc)

49. *L-am făcut să învețe zece volume de literatură*
50. *He made her cry*

Once again the Infinitive is used in English where the Conjunctiv is used in Romanian.

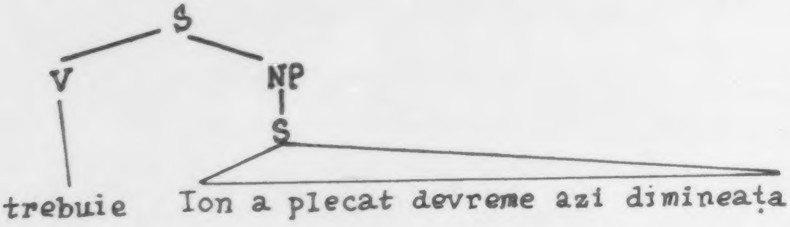
h) modal verbs
a trebui, a putea
(can, may, must, etc)

Just as their English equivalents, the Romanian modals have an epistemic and a denotic reading (root reading). It is now high time to say that we have treated them here as main verbs in the light of Ross' analysis. This is higly convenient for a contrastive analysis because in

Romanian these verbs display all the features of main verbs. Consequently we shall have the following derivations :

51. *Ion trebuie să fi plecat devreme astăzi dimineață*

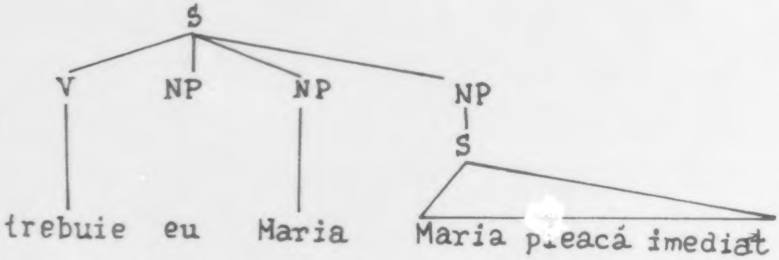
52)


S
V
NP
S
trebuie
Ion a plecat devreme azi dimineața

To (52) we apply Raising and Subject Formation.

53. *Maria trebuie să plece imediat*

54)


S
V
NP
NP
NP
S
trebuie
eu
Maria
Maria pleacă imediat

Equi—NP—Deletion and Subject Formation are applied to (54) to yield (53) We also notice that we may never have a past Conjunctiv after the root reading of *trebuie*, but we can have the Indicative in colloquial Romanian after the epistemic one :

55. *Trebuie că a plouat la munte*
56. **Trebuie să fi plouat la munte*

Neither can we have a Past Conjunctiv after the root reading of *a putea*.

There is one type of psychological verbs that we have not discussed yet but that we propose to investigate now, namely verbs of the type of *a se teme*.

57. *Mă tem că plec singură la drum*
58. *Mă tem să plec singură la drum*
59. *I'm afraid that I may get lost*
60. *I'm afraid to do that*

(57) which contains an Indicative in the complement clause admits of certain contexts that are impossible with (58):

61. *Mă tem că, pînă la urmă, plec singură*

62. *Mă tem că, dacă nu vine Maria, plec singură la drum*

(62) shows that the complement clause is in fact a consequence of a conditional presupposed known by both speakers and the meaning of a se teme here is related to that of *believe* or at least implies the latter, whereas this is not the case with the other *a se teme* (followed by the Conjunctiv). Moreover we know that *a crede* requires the Indicative. The fact that (57) is rendered in English by (59) which has the epistemic *may* in the complement clause also supports the hypothesis of an epistemic *a se teme* and a genuine one.

1.3. Having concluded the list of verbs that require the Conjunctiv in Romanian we can say first that they include the groups of (equivalent) English verbs but exceed them in number and variety. The solution which imposes itself in this case is copying the feature (+Conjunctiv) on to these verbs which should indicate that this mood is obligatory after them. In some cases we do not use only the Conjunctiv in the complement clause but also the Indicative as has been pointed out above. We can distinguish the following groups of verbs in this respect: (i) verbs that require only Conjunctiv and do not admit of the Indicative. These verbs belong to groups (a), the non-factives of (b), (c), (d), (g), (h). (ii) Verbs that require the Indicative too but have a different meaning in this case such as a *convinge, a se teme*, the verbs of group (b) that can be both factive and non-factive. (iii) Verbs that can take either the Indicative of the Conjunctiv such as *a se întîmpla, a hotărî*. These verbs are very few and can be considered exceptions.

Another aspect to be mentioned is that there is a feature of Romanian Conjunctiv which underlines its specific characteristic, namely that it seldom changes with respect to time reference-just as non-finite moods do in English. It can express only differences of position in time as referred to the verb in the matrix clause:

63. *Vreau să plec*
64. *Voiam / am vrut să plec*
65. *Am să vreau să plec*
66. *I want / wanted / 'll want to go*
67. *Voiam să fi plecat*
68. *I wish I had gone*

This behaviour with respect to time reference is a typical feature of modality in both languages. We can say about the Romanian Conjunctiv that it is widely used and occupies an important part in the syntax of Romanian complement constructions and that it can be considered to be an intermediate mood between finites and non-finites, its finite characteristic being given by the personal endings.

We see thus the interaction of language specific features with phenomena of a more general nature, such as the expression of modality.

2.0. Having established certain syntactiv features of the Conjunctiv and seen what its English equivalents are we can now try to see if we could investigate the above mentioned verbs semantically and draw certain conclusions about the results of this investigation, as it is a well-known and desirable fact to link semantic and syntactic phenomena. We shall consequently try to classify these verbs semantically, which has partly been done and, what is more important reduce them to a set of predicates to which we can get by means of the method of lexical decomposition. This means among other things, that we have adopted a model similar to that of Kimball's *Phrase Structure Grammar*, namely of a set of predicates that admitt of a set of arguments and require certain features of the latter.

Anoher aspect we have to take into consideration is that of presuppositions as examples (41) and (57) have pointed out.

2.1. The verbs of group (b) already belong to a semantic class and can all be reduced to a verb of the type of LIKE in their pre-lexical structure Those of group (c) are again reducible to the predicate INTEND which we know to require the Conjunctiv. Even verbs of persuasion can be reduced to INTEND as has been shown with respect to the verb *to persuade* which is decomposed as

to CAUSE to COME to BELIEVE

The verb *to convince (a convinge de)* can be decomposed as

to CAUSE to COME to BELIEVE

and *believe* never requires the Conjunctiv unless under the scope of negation. A sentence governed by *a spera* should have as truth-conditions

Intend p. BELIEVE (POSSIBLE) p

The interplay between the last two doxastic operators causes the verb in the complement clause to be either in the Indicative or the Conjunctiv. The operator POSSIBLE can account for the use of Conjunctiv after such verbs as the epistemic *a se teme* or *a se întîmpla* whose truth conditions are the following :

BELIEVE (—POSSIBLEp). p

Another predicate to which (+Conjunctiv) verbs are reduced is CAUSE which as again requires the use of the Conjunctiv. To this predicate we can reduce such verbs as *a încerca*, *a reuși*, *a urmări*, *a trinti*, *a invăța*. The last verb is decomposed as to

to CAUSE to KNOW

KNOW=BE ABLE

A distinction must be made between *to know that* and *to know how* which is followed by the Conjunctiv in Romanian and the Infinitive in English. This should be quite natural since it represents a possibility operator.

As to the verbs of order and command we can consider them to be instances of the root readings of modal verbs such as *trebuie*. These are in their turn instances of the Necessity operator. It is interesting to notice that the verbs governed by the Necessity operator trigger the Conjunctiv and Subjunctive respectively in both languages which does not always happen in the case of the Possibility operator.

2.2. An operator which is likely to make a (—Conjunctiv) verb (+ Conjunctiv) is negation. This happens especially in the case of doxastic predicates :

69. *Cred că vine*
70. *Cred că nu vine*
71. *Nu cred să vină*
72. *+Cred să nu vină*
73. *+Cred să vină*

Sentence (72) shows that it is the matrix predicate that has to be under the scope of negation for the Conjunctiv to be used in the complement clause. The same happens with the epistemic predicate *to know:*

74. *Nu-l știu să fie un mare artist*
75. *+Știu să fie un mare artist*
76 *+Știu să nu fie un mare artist*

2.3. We have seen that in Romanian Conjunctiv is triggered by the operators LIKE, INTEND and CAUSE and POSSIBLE. If we think now of the isomorphism displayed by logical models (pointed out by Montague) we may say that the operators coresponding to POSSIBLE trigger the Conjunctiv in Romanian and those croresponding to NECESSARY trigger the use ofthe Subjunctive in English. Among the latter we shall also consider phrases of the type of *e timpul, e normal, e natural, e de dorit,* etc *(it's time, it is natural, it's desirable,* and so on). They invariably take the Conjunctiv in Romanian and the subjunctive or *should* in English.

In the language of modal logic the predicates we have just discussed and discovered to trigger the Conjunctiv in Romanian are operators associating a number of possible worlds to an individual The truth of the propositions governed by them will then be defined in terms of more possible worlds which do not necessarily include the actual one. This could be the distinctive feature of modality at this level disregarding for a while the fact that the surface realization in the two languages is different. Mention must also be made of the fact that we are in a system of the logic of change which can also call logic of action and that it is only in this system that we can define verbal modality. The association of possible worlds with an individual (set of individuals) helps to underline the traditional definition of modality as a mode of expressing the attitude of the speaker towards the action.

The imediate consequence for us now is that modality is defineable in terms of a predicate that triggers the presence of a certain mood.

This is important if we want to find a solution in a contrastive grammar of two languages that differ in the surface manifestations of modality to such a degree as English and Romanian do. The solution which seems to impose itself is therefore that of an abstract verb triggering the moods under discussion. This is likely to solve also the problem of the sentences where we have a modal in English and the Conjunctiv in Romanian. How it does will be made clear later on.

3.1. We shall deal now with the complex sentences with modal connectives where the Conjunctiv and modal verbs respectively are present in the subordinate clause. Such a clause is the final clause :

77. *Am închis ușa ca să am liniște*
78. *I closed the door so that I might have some peace*
79. *Am stropit florile ca să nu se ofilească*
80. *I have watered the flowers lest they should wither*

Again it is the English sentence that acts as a guide in that it contains an over expression of modality, *may*, *should*, whereas the Romanian sentence only contains the Conjunctiv. We can solve this problem on the level of logical analysis by stating the truth-conditions of a *so that* sentence :

$$p \text{ so that } q = \quad p \cdot q \cdot B(q = Cp)$$

This formula says that a final clause expresses the belief that if q is the case then it is credible that p is the case too. If the operator B does not admit a Conjunctiv in the complement clause, C does. The truth conditions being valid for both languages, this explains the presence of the Conjunctiv in the Romanian clause. We obviously assume that it has been triggered by C.

In English the same type of clause can be expressed by an Infinitive construction so modality can be covert in English too. This depends on the complementizer we use. We shall see that the presence or absence of certain complementizer affects other types of clauses too. To emphasize the modal character of *so that* mention must also be made of the fact that it occurs mostly after causative verbs or verbs that can be reduced to CAUSE by means of lexical decomposition. Let us take the matrix predicate of the following example :

81. *Wash the shirts so that they may be clean*

It can be decomposed as

to CAUSE to BECOME CLEAN

3.2. The subordinate clauses that cause more trouble are the conditioinals and, implicity, the concessives. They do so because we find both Conjunctiv and Conditional in them :

82. *Să-l văd acum aș fi fericită*
83. *Dacă l-aș vedea acum aș fi fericită*
84. *Should I see him now I would be happy*

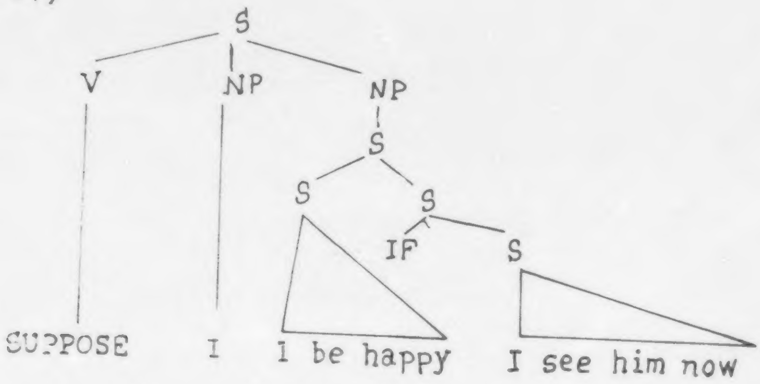
We notice here that the problem is similar to that of final clause with or without *that*. We notice that *dacă* is not present in (82) Neither is it in the concessive of (85) :

85. *Zică lumea orișice, eu tot fac cum vreau*

86. *Chiar dacă s-ar supăra pe mine, tot i-aș spune ce am de spus*

According to the examples (82—(86) we can state the constraint that whenever *dacă* is present in Romanian it triggers the Conditional while the presence of *if* in English requires that of the Subjunctive Past in the conditional clause. The absence of *dacă* and *if* triggers the Conjunctiv and *should*** inversion respectively. This kind of constraint should regulate all occurrences of Conditionals and Subjunctives since it does not affect the grammaticalness of such clauses as the comparatives where *if (as if)* is never absent. The DS a sentence such as (82) would be the following :

87)



3.3. Another type of clause where we come across the Conjunctiv rendered in English by means of an Infinitive this time is the clause of result after *destul* and *prea (enoungh* and *too):*

88. *Era destul de deștept ca să rezolve problema*

89. *Era prea leneș ca să se apuce de lucru*

90. *She was clever enough to solve the problem*

91. *She was too weak to fight him*

The logical structure of these sentences includes an operator of the type of POSSIBLE (usually the POSSIBLE of physical ability) which explains the presentce of the Conjunctiv

p enough to q = $B(p = Mq) \cdot p \cdot q$

The Conjunctiv is also present in Romanian consecutive clauses when the matrix predicate is under the scope of negation, which explains its presence

92. *Nu ești atît de prost încît să refuzi o asemenea ofertă*

93**Ești atît de prost încît să refuzi o asemenea ofertă*

94. *E atît de leneș că nu se va scula pînă la ora zece*

4.1. Having reached this stage in our analysis we can easily deal with the cases of the Subjunctive and the Conjunctiv in main clauses.

In both languages there are cases when these moods are used in main clauses that belong to the same type. They are imperative clauses :

95. *Să plecaţi cu toţii de aici !*
96. *Stand up everybody !*

They can also express a wish :

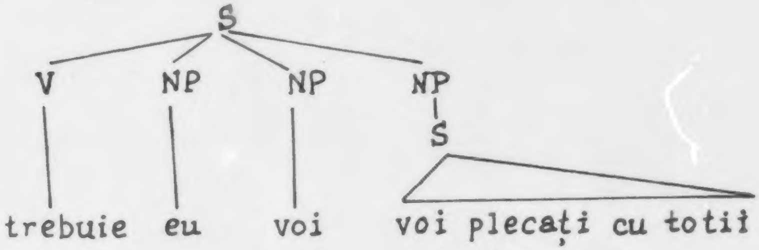
97. *Trăiască patria noastră !*
98. *Long live our country !*
99. *Long may you live !*

Again we can have a modal verb in English while this in not possible in Romanian. We also notice that the above sentences can perfectly well be inserted in a complement clause position such as *to order* for (95) — (96) and *to wish* after for (97) — (99). This is especially valid the English sentences since *wish* requires *may*.

100. *I wish you may be happy*
101. *Îţi urez să fii fericit*
102. *Vă ordon să ieşiţi afară cu toţii*
103. *I order that everybody stand up at onee*

We must again have recourse to the abstract verb theory if we want to solve the case of the Conjunctiv and the Subjunctive in main clauses. (95) would then have the following deep structure :

104)



5.1. We have already made clear from the beginning that we have adopted Ross' treatment of Auxiliaries as main verbs. It is convenient to do so in our contrastive grammar since in Romanian the modal verbs are considered main verbs and we can thus establish a common level for the modals in both languages. This should lead to other conclusions about the position and structure of the Auxiliary component in a contrastive grammar of English and Romanian. We cannot, for instance consider the Romanian auxiliary verbs *a avea* and *a fi* as main verbs since the test applied by Ross fails to yield grammatical sentences :

105. *Mary was kissed by John and Helen was too*
106. *??Maria a fost sărutată de Ion şi Elena a fost şi ea*
107. *Mary has eaten fish and John has too*
108 **Maria a mîncat mere şi Ion a şi el*

Our conclusion is that in our contrastive grammar we must preserve the Auxiliary component which should contain *to be* and *to have* and consider the modals main verbs.

5.2. Another conclusion is that we can find a common feature for verbal modality in such a grammar only if we situate ourselves on a higher level of analysis. Unfortunately, language specific constraints, such as the limitation of moods in Romanian complement clauses versus the variety of possibilities in English, the special behaviour of some connectives, etc. have led to a very dissimilar manifestation of verbal modality in the surface structure of the two languages. It is therefore possible to account for modality in a grammar which is semantically based although this may not be of a great use for the learner of one of them. What an analysis of the type we have attempted can achieve is throw some more light on the semantic relations existing in each language and their syntactic manifestations. It can help us understand how syntax and semantics are interrelated in a particular language.

IV.

LEXICOLOGY AND ERROR ANALYSIS

SOME PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF LEXICAL CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

EDITH IAROVICI

The 5th Appendix to our contrastive dictionary represents its main pedagogical implication, for the 2.700 words it contains are grouped — from the Romanian learner's point of view — into *easy, normal, difficult*, and *very difficult*.

The lists were made up after a careful analysis of the various contrastive subtypes bearing in mind our long-standing teaching experience.

* * *

Cognates, i.e. lexemes that are similar in form and meaning in the two languages, are quite **easy** to learn, e.g. *actor — actor, attack — atac, modern — modern, risk — risc*. Even certain differences of structure and construction maintain them within the bounds of words that may be taught during the first stage of teaching, for instance *actress — actriță, liberty — libertate, inconceivable — de neconceput, necessarily — în mod necesar*.

There are a few cases in which the Romanian construction is actually a paraphrase, as in *membership* — 1. *calitate de membru*, 2. *număr de membri*. In such situations, Cognates are no longer very easy to learn. They pass into the category of **normal** words, and so do those Cognates whose grammatical status differs in the two languages. Thus, *to offer* corresponds both to *a oferi* and *a se oferi*, therefore the **syntactic status** is not the same in English and Romanian. Another syntactic difference may concern transitivity, as with Eng. *protest* as against Rom. *a protesta*: besides situations like "He protested his innocence" — "A protestat afirmînd că este nevinovat" or "Şi-a afirmat nevinovăţia protestînd", there is a more recent development of the type "to protest a resolution", alongside "to protest against a resolution", both corresponding to Rom. "a protesta împotriva unei rezoluţii".

We may also come against certain differences of **morphological status,** such as gender, e.g. Eng. *rival* — Rom. *rival, rivală,* or number (with syntactic implications as well), e.g. in "The police *have* arrested the thieves" — "Poliţia i-*a* arestat pe hoţi".

As far as **Partial Cognates** are concerned, they belong to **normal** words from the learner's point of view, for they have similar forms and partly identical meanings, like Eng. *to confuse* — Rom. *a confunda* and *a încurca,* Eng. *mind* — Rom. *minte* (raţiune, cuget), *minte* (stare mentală), *minte* (memorie), but also *suflet, inimă* and *părere, intenţie, hotărîre.*

Nevertheless, those Partial Cognates that show certain grammatical differences, or difficulties connected with homonymy in Romanian are no longer normal, but **difficult.** Thus, Eng. *pretence* — besides Rom. *pretext* and *prefăcătorie* — corresponds to *pretenţie* (cerere), but also to the plural *pretenţii (exagerate). To refer* means both *a referi* and *a* **se** *referi.* As for difficulties caused by homonymy in Romanian, they are clearly proved by examples like Eng. *piece,* which corresponds to Rom. *piesă* (articol, unitate) — as in "a piece of music" — "o piesă muzicală" — and *piesă* (monedă), but not to *piesă* (de teatru) or to *piesă* (de maşină).

Diversified Cognates are those cases in which an English lexeme corresponds to several Romanian lexemes belonging to the same family of words, all of which are cognates of the English word, e.g. Eng. *bar* — Rom. *bară* (drug), *bară* (vergea), *barieră, barou, bar.*

Such words are considered **normal** from the point of view of the Romanian learner, who will not find it difficult to remember that *musician* means *muzician* and *muzicant,* or *to perfect* — *a perfecta* and *a perfecţiona.*

But they become **difficult** when there are differences of gramatical status, or when the situation is complicated by certain homonyms in Romanian. Eng. *moral* means *morală* (învăţătură) and its plural *morals* means moralitate. *To number* means *a numerota* and *a număra,* but also *a* **se** *număra. Name* corresponds in Romanian to *nume, denumire* and *renume,* but not to *nume* (substantiv).

With **Diversified Partial Cognates,** the diversification of the lexemes that are Cognates is only partial, e.g. Eng. *native* — Rom. *nativ* (înnăscut) and *natal,* but also *indigen, băştinaş;* Eng. *post* — Rom. *post* and *poştă,* but also *stîlp.* Such words are **difficult** and they even become **very difficult** when they present grammatical differences or problems connected with homonyms in Romanian. Thus *verse* may mean *vers, verset,* and *strofă,* in which cases it has both singular and plural ; but when it means *versuri* as a form of writing, it never takes the plural inflexion in English (as in "blank verse" — "versuri albe", "written in verse" — "scris în versuri"). This difference of morphological status complicates the matter, and so does the fact that Eng. *note,* for instance, has various meanings in common with Rom. *notă,* but *notă* (la şcoală), *notă* (de plată), or *notă* (de comandă).

Deceptive Cognates are words having similar forms and different meanings, like Eng. *actual* — Rom. *real, efectiv*, but not Rom. *actual* — Eng. *present* ; Eng. *ordinary* — Rom. *obișnuit* (normal) and *obișnuit* (mediocru, de rînd), but not Rom. *ordinar* — Eng. *vulgar*.

As they are misleading, such words **are difficult,** and even **very difficult** when they are rendered still more complicated by certain grammatical features. Thus, Eng. *misery* corresponds to Rom. *suferință, nefericire*, but not to Rom. *mizerie* (sărăcie) — Eng. *poverty*, or to Rom. *mizerie* (murdărie) — Eng. *dirt ;* moreover, it has nothing to do with the Romanian plural *mizerii* (șicane) — Eng. *chicanery*.

Partly Deceptive Cognates, i.e. words having similar forms and only partly different meanings, are even more misleading than Deceptive Cognates and, therefore, **very difficult.** Thus, *minister* corresponds both to *ministru* and to *preot ; poem* is *poem* and *poezie ; report* corresponds to *raport* and to *zvon*, as well as to *foc de armă, detunătură*. Sometimes the situation is even more complicated, as with *to prevent*, which is doubly deceptive, for it has two Romanian equivalents, namely *a preveni* (a preîntîmpina) and *a împiedica* ; but it never has the same meaning as *a preveni* (a avertiza), which is rendered by *to warn ;* Eng. *spirit* corresponds to Rom. *spirit* (suflet), *spirit* (spiriduș), *stare de spirit*, and *spirt* (alcool etilic) ; moreover, when used in the plural, it may mean *dispoziție* and, besides, *băuturi alcoolice*.

Different Forms Identical Meanings, i.e. words like *beak — cioc, cat — pisică, merry — vesel, rich — bogat, to drink — a bea* are quite **easy** to learn, no matter if they have few or many meanings in common. Both Eng. *new* and Rom. *nou* have 4 frequent meanings, while *power* and *putere* have as many as six. Naturally, this fact facilitates the gradual teaching of the respective meanings.

But Different Forms Identical Meanings pass into the category of **normal** words when they show certain well-marked differences of structure or construction (as with Eng. *no* — Rom. *nici un, nici o* ; the preposition *opposite — vizavi de, peste drum de ; to saw — a tăia cu fierăstrăul*) and, especially, in cases of different grammatical status. Here are a few examples : *money — bani* (**number**) ; *ours — al nostru, a noastră, ai noștri, ale noastre* (**number and gender**) ; *to near — a se apropia* (**de**), *to remember — a-**și** aminti* (**de**).

Different Forms Partly Identical Meanings, i.e. words whose meanings do not concide, but just overlap to a certain extent, are **normal** for the learner, e.g. *night — noapte* and *seară ; sharp — ascuțit* (tăios), *ascuțit* (țuguiat), *ascuțit* (pătrunzător, ager), *ascuțit* (strident), but also *brusc, abrupt, aspru, iute*.

Nevertheless, they may become **difficult** on account of homonymy in Romanian ; thus *meal* means *masă* (una din mesele zilei), but not *masă* (mobilă) ; *nephew* corresponds to *nepot* (de unchi), but not to *nepot* (de bunic). They may likewise be difficult in cases of different grammatical status, as with *to be mistaken — a se înșela* (besides *to mistake — a* *greși, a înțelege greșit, a confunda)*; *to race* is particularly complex on account of the problems of transitivity and voice which it raises with its Romanian counterparts : when it is intransitive, it means *a alerga, a fugi, a goni*, but when it is transitive, it corresponds to *a se întrece cu, a se lua la întrecere*, or *a participa la curse* (cu caii proprii).

If both kinds of difficulties combine, Different Forms Partly Identical Meaning are **very difficult** to learn. Thus, *news — veste, știre, noutate* — always takes the plural inflexion, but requires a verb in the singular and the equivalent of **o** *veste* is *a piece of news* ; besides, it never means *noutate* (lucru nou, caracter nou), which is rendered by *novelty. To nest* corresponds to *a se cuibări, a-și face cuib* and to *a căuta cuiburi de păsări*, but never to the figurative use of *a se cuibări*, whose equivalent is *to nestle*.

Dfferent Forms Diversified Meaning refer to those cases in which one and the same form in English diversifies into several Romanian lexemes, as with Eng. *nail* — Rom. *unghie* and *cui* ; Eng. *mild* — Rom. *blînd* (blajin), *blînd* (temperat), *moderat* (as in "mild interest"), *slab* (ușor, e. g. in "mild tobacco") ; *to smoke* corresponds to *a fumega, a scoate fum ; a afuma ; a fuma*. They are **normal** from the learner's point of view if their meanings are taught gradually, but they pass into the group of **difficult** words if their Romanian equivalents have a different structure or construction, as with the adverb *next*, which corresponds to *din nou, altădată* and to *apoi, pe urmă, după aceea ; to notice* means *a observa, a băga de seamă* and *a da atenție, a lua în seamă*.

They are even **very difficult** when they present complications which are due to grammar and/or to homonyms in Romanian, for instance *people, peoples — popor, popoare*, but also (without a plural inflexion, but with a plural verb) *oameni, lume* and *lumea, oamenii ; to spot*, besides *a repera, a dibui*, may mean *a păta, a murdări*, or the reflexives *a se păta, a se murdări ; to need* may be both notional — *a avea nevoie de* — and modal — *a trebui să, a fi necesar să, a fi nevoie să ;* but it never means *a trebui să* (a fi constrîns să), which is rendered by *must, have to, be obliged to, be compelled to*.

Different Forms Approximate Meanings are **difficult** for the learner, because they designate the situations in which the English lexeme has no exact Romanian equivalent and may be rendered only approximately, by means of several lexemes or by paraphrase, for instance *narrowly — de aproape, cu atenție*, or *restrîns, limitat, strict*, or *de abia, cu greu ; neat — cu gust, simplu dar elegant*, or *bine executat*, or *curat, îngrijit, ordonat ; rather — mai curînd, mai precis*, or *oarecum, cam, întrucîtva, destul de*, or *mai degrabă, de preferință*, or even (colloquially and with a double stress) *desigur, și încă cum !*

Naturally, Different Forms Approximate Meanings may become **very difficult** on account of certain grammatical differences and/or owing to homonyms in Romanian ; thus, *nuisance* means *neplăcere, pacoste, belea*, but never *pacoste* (nenorocire), which is rendered by *misfortune ; to miss* is transitive in English, but not always in Romanian : *a nu nimeri ; a* *scăpa, a pierde, a greși ; a lipsi, a dispărea ; a duce/a simți lipsa, a duce dorul ;* besides, it never means *a lipsi* (a nu fi de față), which corresponds to *to be absent.*

⁂

The 2.700 words of the dictionary have been grouped according to the above criteria, but with certain slight shifts from one category to another e.g. with derivatives and compounds when they are learned more easily on the basis of the words they come from, or in the case of special grammatical difficulties like those implied by irregular plurals, irregular degrees of comparison, and irregular verbs. Other shifts have sometimes been made on account of synonymy in one of the two languages or in both.

On the basis of our classification, we find that the percentages into which the words in the dictionary have been grouped are the following :

— easy words	31.12 p.c.	67.48 p.c.
— normal words	36.36 p.c.	
— difficult words	24.20 p.c.	32.52 p.c.
— very difficult words	8.32 p.c.	

As we can see, about two thirds are easy and normal, and only one third belong to the difficult and very difficult words, from the point of view of the Romanian learner.

In the process of teaching, the above classification is not used as such, for it is impossible for teachers and textbook authors to take the four categories in turn and teach them gradually. That cannot be done because some of the difficult and very difficult words are extremely frequent and, therefore, absolutely necessary from the very beginning, e.g. *the, to be, can, to do, shall, will, little,* a.s.o.

That is why the lists based on the degree of difficulty must be combined with the list based on the degree of frequency (Appendix 1). Those words which will be found to be both very difficult and highly frequent will have to be included within the first stage of teaching, but their different aspects will be taught gradually and taken up again and again. By "different aspects" we mean, on the one hand, the meanings of polysemantic words and, on the other hand, grammatical features which are relevant from the contrastive point of view.

This — incidentally — holds true for all difficult and very difficult words, which should not be taught exhaustively when their turn comes, but concentrically, being repeatedly reverted to, each time with a view to making a more thorough study and gradually doing away with the various difficulties.

EASY WORDS	NORMAL WORDS	DIFFICULT WORDS	VERY DIFFICULT WORDS
C	C presenting important differences of structure, construction, or/and gramatical status		
	PC	PC presenting differences of grammatical status or difficulties connected with Romanian homonyms	
	Div. C	Div. C presenting differences of grammatical status or difficulties connected with Romanian homonyms	
		Div. PC	Div. PC presenting differences of grammatical status or/and difficulties connected with Romanian homonyms
		Dec. C	Dec. C presenting differences of grammatical status
			P Dec. C
DF IM	DF IM presenting important differences of structure, construction, or/and grammatical status		
	DF PIM	DF PIM presenting differences of grammatical status or difficulties connected with Romanian homonyms	DF PIM presenting differences of grammatical status and difficulties connected with Romanian homonyms
	DF Div. M	DF Div. M presenting differences of structure or construction	DF Div. M presenting differences of grammatical status or/and difficulties connected with Romanian homonyms
		DF AM	DF AM presenting differences of grammatical status or/and difficulties connected with Romanian homonyms

NOTES ON PLURALIZATION. SINGULARIZATION, COUNTABILITY AND NUMERICALIZATION

ANDREI BANTAŞ

We shall try to analyse the problem of the plural — and the singularization of nouns with a plural form — in connection with the problem of numericalization, because, in our opinion, the interdependence between these phenomena cannot be overlooked.

Nor can we forget that these phenomena are also linked to the notion of countability. If we conceived the notion of countability in a broader sense — that is including all aspects connected with the number of nouns — then we could say that pluralization and, conversely, singularization are subordinate to it.

Yet, upon reflection, it appears rather hazardous to say which goes first, or which of these notions has a larger sphere, i.e. includes the other(s).

Although apparently involving barely the simple distinction or clear-cut opposition *countable — uncountable,* to our mind countability is an intricate matter, displaying a multiplicity of facets.

There are at least the following points at issue :

— Can countability be identified with pluralization ?
— If so, does the mere hypothetical possibility of forming a plural prove sufficient for declaring a noun countable ?
— Is pluralization tantamount to the acceptance of *any* numerical determinatives by a noun ?
— When a noun (of material, pluralization etc.) requires special means for numericalization, should it be considered countable or not ?
— Are we not therefore bound to admit that numericalization is not a unique notion either, but involves varieties or degrees ?
— If the various meanings of a polysemant behave differently (basically as countable or uncountable), how are we to label that noun ?
— Are the (sometimes particular) problems of the pluralization and singularization of geographical and other proper names to be treated in line with those of common nouns, or shall we insist on separating them ?
— How are we to assess the influence exerted by the means of numericalization upon the collocability of nouns ? Or are we merely to list various numerical determinatives among the normal or special means for numericalization ?

One of the first difficulties connected with the grammatical regimen of the noun is that of distinguishing between pluralization, numericalization and countability. Because so many aspects are involved, in the present paper we are going to operate with very unsophisticated temporary definitions of the three terms.

So, for the time being we shall define *pluralization* as the *capacity to form the plural* or, to put it differently, the possibility of admitting the utilization of the respective noun or meaning of a noun in the plural (significant or non-significant as the case may be).

Conversely, *singularization* is therefore *the possibility for (apparently) plural nouns to be used in the singular number.*

Countability should probably be defined as the *capacity of a noun to be counted in some way or another.*

Numericalization could accordingly be defined as the possibility of being accompanied by numerical determinatives (not necessarily numerals).

The presence of plurals identical with the singular as well as the hesitations and fluctuations of usage in this respect, caused Jespersen (A 136) to speak about *'the common number'*. This notion may seem strange enough from the theoretical point of view yet it may have some practical value. It would perhaps be easier for a teacher — even if not to explain — to indicate that such nouns remain unchanged. Of course, due consideration should be given to the register — that is, whether the phenomenon appears in standard English, in the hunters' language, in substandard English, or in pidgin English, etc.

In fact, as regards pluralization, the peculiarities of forming the plural, double plurals, as well as plurals differing in meaning from the singular do not substantially concern us in the present paper for the following reasons :

First of all it is to a lesser extent a grammatical issue than a lexicological one — being connected with aspects of etymology (the origin or evolution of words or of their senses), of composition and derivation.

Secondly, in terms of theory and classification, the problem has been practically exhausted by the current grammars (Jespersen, Zandvoort, Quirk, Levițchi, Alice Bădescu, etc. — to quote barely a few) and we could but repeat some home truths. Such an investigation would turn into an enumeration or perhaps into a new arrangement of the examples and therefore could possibly find its place in a monograph of the English noun.

Thirdly, not even these grammars have provided a complete list of the nouns evincing peculiarities of forming the plural. Nor could they have done it, as a matter of fact, given the enormous number of nouns falling under this heading (because we must not confine ourselves to the nouns employed in conversational English but we must think also of the immense scientific vocabulary — for instance medicalese — made up especially of Greek and Latin nouns — either old or created by scientists in recent centuries (and with a vengeance in ours) — which follow the rules for the formation of the plural in the classical languages).

Therefore the plurals of such nouns have their place in dictionaries (which indeed record them as such — as for instance in *Webster's International Dictionary*, where we find them by the thousands).

As far as the various means of ***numericalization*** are concerned, given the fact that they apply differently to different categories, subcategories or even small groups of nouns, we could adopt two attitudes :

1. On the one hand we could say that besides the normal ways of counting nouns through numerical determinatives (not specific to English but presumably common to all languages) there are also special means (*a piece of, a pair of, a brace of*, etc.) suitable for various subclasses or groups, etc. — sometimes very limited.

2. On the other hand we can indicate for each class, subclass or group of nouns the means for numericalization specific to it, adopted compulsorily, frequently, occasionally, etc.

Moreover, we can notice that, sometimes, the same group may resort to two or three different means of numericalization, their hierarchy depending mainly on frequency, thus being hard to establish.

Naturally, proper names too may be numericalized (in Romanian as well as in English). Yet this occurs only in special cases :

- when they indicate objects of the respective mark, brand, etc. ;
- when they indicate objects or other elements of the respective model.

We can identify two situations :

1. The object has entered common usage (and has lost its abstract nature) e.g. *a makintosh* — F a mac(k).

2. The object is called by a proper name through ellipsis e.g. *a Pall Mall (cigarette), a Rolls Royce (car).*

A similar case is that of an artist's works, e.g. *a Rembrandt* = a picture by Rembrandt, *an early Renoir*, etc.

Yet in such a case, a distinction has to be made from antonomasis : "*It is a Rembrandt*" refers to a painting while "*He is a Rembrandt of our days, etc.*" refers to a painter.

Zandvoort also says that the same device is applied to titles of plays (or novels, etc.) and he quotes an illustrative example : "For as these gentlemen looked about them at that English life they were to portray with such gusto into their *Ways of the World* and their *Schools for Scandal...*"

Another problem is one of the usual assumptions in grammar, viz. that nouns evince an opposition between quantity and number which operates in various domains. We discuss it very often in terms of concrete-abstract and the impact of the latter opposition upon the former.

On the other hand, plurals too may be merely quantitative or a means of amplification or emphasis. As we can often notice, emphasis cannot be treated merely as a stylistic element, its influence upon grammar can often be felt and proved, and the chapter on the plural of nouns is not exempt from it either. If so far as verbs are concerned it

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seems to us advisable to consider emphasis as just another of the modalities (therefore a grammatical problem or category) it seems that as regards the noun too, emphasis again appears as a stylistic matter with grammatical implications.

For some uncountable nouns (such as nouns of material, abstractions, etc.) the problem may arise of measuring them. When analysing this matter, we soon realize that not all of them accept this measuring. On closer examination we could go one step further and see that with certain nouns, any kind of measure can be accepted, while others can only collocate with measurements of an abstract type.

Apparently the problem in its general lines could be solved like this : nouns of material may accept measurements proper, related to quantity, volume, etc. while abstractions seem to accept only such measurements as refer to the gradation or hierarchy that can be established with the help of the degrees of comparison for adjectives (in a substantial part of the cases, these are in fact only adjuncts to nouns). Therefore we could say that certain elements of measure ,degree, intensity, extensiveness, extent, etc. can be used for most nouns, including abstractions.

Thus, the need is felt for some sort of table or chart in this respect too, indicating the specific means to be used for measuring various monosemants or meanings of polysemant, both lexical-grammatical units showing differences in their grammatical behaviour or regiment from this viewpoint as well.

Now, trying to approach some sort of conclusions, we cannot overlook the fact that countability is a notion discussed — if at all — in connection with *English* nouns, while it is currently assumed that it has small or no applicability in other languages. So the question may arise whether the countable or uncountable nature of a noun is of any *importance* or *relevance* in Romanian. If we take only the last two nouns we have mentioned, naturally people would conceive that they are no more worth discussing than any of the more usual and especially concrete nouns — since for many people the difficulties about the formation of the plural and, implicitly, those about countability are especially connected with abstract nouns. What we can easily notice is that although indeed nobody would think of any difficulty about forming the plural of a Romanian noun, still, two points arise :

— to use such a word as *importanță* or *sensibilitate* in the plural seems absurd or at least unjustified ; on the other hand such words as '*sensibilitate*' are apt to be used in the plural in colloquial and especially slangy Romanian, particularly with a derogatory implication — of various nuances or degrees. *This points to the fact that not even in Romanian is there a perfect unity of grammatical behaviour inside the same category — in our case a sort of restricted group of abstract nouns.*

— The use of numerical determinatives with such nouns would therefore be considered impossible or precluded by the former assumption — namely that these nouns are uncountable through their very nature. But we can easily remember that the indefinite article — which is so closely bound up with the numeral 'one' in Romanian too — does accompany such nouns, and not only in phrases with prepositions such as *'de o importanță majoră'* — which seems more natural and would be explained through the whims and peculiarities of idiom, but also in the nominative, when the noun is used as a subject — e.g. *'o importanță deosebită se atribuie...'* or in the accusative as a direct object, e.g. *'noi acordăm o importanță deosebită...'*

Of course such examples seem puzzling and they somehow contradict the logical rules which we should like to apply, but on the other hand grammarians do not seem to bother about them.

If we do insist on finding an explanation for such examples, we have to consider on the one hand the fact that the indefinite article can occur in such situations in English too (optionally and not compulsorily as in Romanian) and on the other hand the nature of the modifiers which accompany these nouns and which in our opinion are to a certain extent comparable to determiners.

So, the whole question of the impossibility of using the indefinite article and the numerical determinatives may be placed under a question mark in both Romanian and English.

Probably a safer approach would be that brought about by the avoidance of treating abstract nouns and abstractions in a lump. A differentiation and perhaps a gradation of them would seem wiser.

*
* *

To sum up the discussion of the various issues involved with the category of number, we should say that in terms of countability (to the extent to which we are able to render this notion clear and precise) nouns offer a variety of situations, and so may be considered to belong to different types or may be said to evidence various degrees of countability :

(1) *Normally countable ones* — the best known type being that of individual nouns proper.

(2) *Countable by special means* — like the pluralia tantum for instance — which in fact would be a mere subdivision of the first type if we discuss countability pure and simple and not the means of numericalization.

(3) *Partially countable ones* — that is nouns which may be countable in some meanings but not in all of them (this bringing us again and again to the necessity for subdividing polysemants into smaller lexical-grammatical units).

(4) *Countable (or pluralizable) with changes of meaning* — which is another way of saying that the meaning of the plural form of certain nouns differs from that or those of the singular.

(5) Nouns which have only *stylistic plurals* — extensive or intensive.

(6) *Uncountable* (and therefore invariable) *nouns*. These may be found both in the singular (otherwise called *singularia tantum)* and in the plural (otherwise called *pluralia tantum).*

Because certain nouns are very rarely or only occasionally used in the plural, we could add one last category :

(7) *Exceptionally/possibly countable nouns.*

Yet, the above-mentioned difficulties in establishing the truth about mere pluralization and numericalization proper have led us to a more elastic conception, namely considering pluralization, singularization, countability, and numericalization together.

We should like to propose the following tentative arrangement of English nouns seen in these terms, being perfectly conscious of the fact that it is rather criticizable becuase it blends or mixes criteria of classification — in fact various classifications — and is moreover, susceptible of further sub-division which could, however, render it somehow too complicated for teaching purposes.

A. Nouns of unqualified/unrestricted countability

(monosemants or polysemants)

1. *singular individual nouns* (the bulk of English nouns, displaying various plural forms — as shown in the sub-division below — but requiring no special means of numericalization) :
   - a) with normal plural forms, e.g. *book, flower, wish, idea, etc.*
   - b) with special plural forms, e.g. *children, men-of-war, lilies-of-the-valley, knights errant, women-servants ;*
   - c) with double plural forms, e.g. *apparatus/apparata, syllabuses/syllabi ;*
   - d) with the plural mark optional in certain lexical registers (though not in all), e.g. *bison, elk, daffodil, oak ;*
2. *singular individual nouns of multitude* (plural identical with singular), e.g. *sheep, deer, Swiss :*
3. *apparently plural individual nouns* (usually countable but their plural being identical with the singular), e.g. *species, series,* (as contrasted to such nouns as *oasis — oases*), *gallows, means* (as contrasted to normal plurals).

B. Nouns of qualified/restricted countability

1. *nouns countable by special exceptional means*
   - a) pluralia tantum (though apt to be singularized by various particular means), e.g. *trousers and other articles of dress ; whiskers* and other parts of the body ; *scissors* and other two-part instruments ; clothes ; cattle ; *the rich, the poor, the Dutch.*
   - b) nouns uncountable in principle, though apt to be numericalized by special means, e.g. *information, knowledge, news, furniture, luggage, measles, rickets, billiards, money, etc.* (means of numericalization : 'pieces, items/varieties/types of' 'coins', etc.) ;

c) certain nouns of material which require special means for numericalization, e.g. *bread, soap, beef, porridge, punch* (numericalized by means of 'loaves, cakes, pieces' etc.). We could say about them that they are *rather measured than counted.*

2. *Polysemants possessing some countable and some uncountable meaning(s),* e.g. *chicken, board, fruit, salt.*

3. *Nouns whose pluralization involves semantic changes,* e.g. *advice, air, facility, compass, earth* (for some of them differences being so great as to warrant separate entries in dictionaries).

4. *Nouns which are hypothetically countable, though rarely used in the plural,* (for instance, with the meaning "instance of"), e.g. *realism* (and most of the other nouns ending in *-ism), happiness* (and most other words ending in *-ness, -hood, -ship,* such as *friendship, manhood,* etc.), *singing, wine, steel* (and most other nouns apt to evince types varieties, etc.).

C. **Nouns impossible to count**

(for any purpose whatever)

1. *Monosemants as well as polysemants invariable because of their uncountability.*

   a) singularia tantum, e.g. *mankind, south, north* — and other unique nouns.

   b) pluralia tantum of various kinds — **concrete,** e.g. *dregs,* less, or **abstract,** e.g. *alms, thanks,* etc.

2. *Nouns which can be pluralized for certain purposes yet do not become countable,* e.g. *dew, snow, (only stylistically used as* **extensive** plurals), *rapture, ecstasy* (stylistically used only as **intensive** plurals).

3. *Singular nouns which exclude the plural number altogether,* e.g. *nature, infinitiy, plenitude,* etc. (they could be labelled truly **unique**).

From the above scale of nouns seen in terms of countability and numericalization, we can make the following observations :

1. plural nouns too may appear as countable as well as uncountable, falling under various points and subpoints.

2. nouns falling under (B 2) form no unitary category, displaying a great variety of behaviours, some anomalies or "exceptions" being manifest with one or several meanings.

3. dictionary entries as well as grammar books usually treat such nouns wholesale, thus mixing up different types of behaviour, which is a serious source of confusion.

4. it becomes apparent that a genuienly rigourous classification must rely on smaller units or analysis e.g. *(semgrammemes).*

5. all this emphasizes the idea of variety and differences in point of grammatical regimen / system.

ON THE LIMITS OF VERB DERIVATION

A contrastive study between English, Romanian, German, Russian and Hungarian

DIMITRIE CAZACU and BARBARA HAMSEA

1.0. With the lack of a unitary method of approach, and with many basic concepts not yet perfectly established, word formation has yet failed to become an independent branch of linguistics. The vocabulary of a language being the most mobile part of it, being continually subjected to changes, in word building (WB) it is often difficult to draw a clear line between the diachronic and synchronic approach, between the elements of speech and those of language as a system, between what is correct and incorrect.

1.1. These allowances granted, we have tried in the present paper, by an attempt at a comparison between the verb derivates of 18 nouns, to draw a few conclusions as to how verb derivation works in the five languages. We have been prompted in our choice of these languages by the follownig principles : a(the more numerous the languages compared, the more convincing the general conclusions, b) the more heterogeneous in genealogy and structure the languages are, the more clearly certain common and specific aspects will be revealed.

The aim of the present contrastive study is to single out WB tendencies that are either relevant to the idiosyncratic character of the individual languages or belong to language universals.

1.2. From the practical, pedagogical, point of view, we believe that, a) the revealing of certain WB patterns in a given L_2 (target lang) would enable the students to stock new words in a more systematic way which would work along the lines laid down by the patterns. This would develop his generative capacity, where analogy plays an important role, b) WB patterns also bear upon syntax and morphology and could thus complement the student's knowledge of syntax patterns giving him a better command of the target language. Syntax patterns might be taught as being interdependent with the WB patterns of the respective language.

1.3. *Derivative*

Synchronically, a word may be considered a derivative as long as its derivation base is preserved in the language as an independent word.

As soon as the derivation base is lost, the same word acquires the status of a simple, underived word (morpheme) which in its turn may become a derivation base [2].

Our present study includes derivatives resulting from : prefixation, suffixation, backformation, Implicitely. it will also refer also to naturalized borrowings (affix + foreign derivation base). Eg. :

interviewen (G)
babysittern (G)
tvistovat' (Rs)
fabrikálni (H)

1.4. Within these classes of derivatives we are dealing only with verbs deriving from non-action nouns.

We have been struck by great number of non-action nouns (including those that apparently imply no "process" or other verbal relation, at all) that have given birth to verbs.

It seems that this kind of derivation has been given great momentum, and is even taking short-cuts across traditional and aesthetic boundaries, owing to the unprecedented mass of new concepts (nouns) that have been invading languages and that are constantly seeking, their way into the realm of the verb, thus responding to the intrinsic necessity of language to keep up a balance.

1.5 *The criteria* of establishing the direction of derivation have been the following :

a) "the concept which for its definition is dependent on the concept of the other pair member must be considered that of the derived word . . ." (3) (eg. to water = to add water)

b, From two words belonging to different parts of speech and having an identical lexical value, we consider as being derived that one which expresses a value categorically belonging to the other morphological category / 6 (eg. light → to light ; name of matter → characteristic of class of nouns → verb is derived from noun)

c) If one of the two members of a pair is stylistically marked, it is sure to be the derived member ; for a stylistically unmarked word can never be motivated by a stylistically marked word ; only the reverse may occur.

(eg. šutkovat' šutka)
(coll, sl) (styl. neutral)

1.6. a) The method of work employed has been to collect at random a corpus of 180 non-action nouns which have formed one or more verbs in at least one of the languages here compared, then group them into conceptual classes, trace their verb derivatives in all languages, and finally draw certain conclusions from the contrastive lists resulting.

b) The scope of our paper being to trace certain general tendencies of denominal verb derivation, we have not gone to the length of enumerating all the derivatives possible from each noun.

Thus we are not interested for our purpose in whether, besides "bekleiden" the G noun "Kleid" generates also "auskleiden", "verkleiden", "einkleiden", "ankleiden" or more. The fact that this noun, within a series of others of the same concept class, does from one verb is sufficient.

c) Nor does the paper claim to exhaust the concepts or concept classes susceptible to verb derivation, or the meanings of one and the same verb.

d) The order in which the languages have been arranged is as in the title except for two or three cases where changes have been made for the sake of a greater clarity (See table 1, 2).

e) In the comparative lists (Appendix 2) we have assumed as common the derivation base (noun), which naturally does not preclude the derived verbs from differing and even contrasting in meaning.

2.1. The means by which denominal verb derivation is achieved are perfectly regular systems of a few suffixes (old and still productive, or new) complemented or not by prefix, which mostly carry meaning or aspect, which are attached to either native or foreign stems.

Leaving aside the details as to what affixes work in which language, the patterns look as follows :

Table 1

	prefix	stem	vowel/cons. change	vb-forming suffix	infin. morph.
R	(+)	+	(+)	—	+
G	(+)	+	(+)	—	+
Rs	(+)	+	(+)	+	+
H	(+)	+	(+)	+	+
E	(+)	+	(+)OLD	$+ < ^{\text{iz}}_{\text{zer}}$	—

For examples see Appendix 1.

It should be noted here that :

1. H and Rs are the only languages to add both a verb forming suffix and infinitive morpheme to the stem.

2. In E the zero morphene is more frequent than the other suffix, the situation actually amounting to (—).

2.2. The nouns listed as derivation bases for verbs fall into the following conceptual classes :

1. Names of matter
    a) food stuffs : sugar, milk
    b) enviromental elements : air, light
    c) materials : cement, wax
    d) natural phenomena : rain, dew
2. Meals : lunch
    Other concepts of daily habits : bath
3. a) Parts of plants : branch, seed
    b) Animal names : dog, calf

4. **Forms, figures** : circle, figure
5. **Vessels and places** : bottler, house
6. Implements :
   - a) tools : hammer, shovel
   - b) sports articles : ski, boat
   - c) vehicles : cart, bicycle
   - d) mass media : T. V., film
   - e) musical intruments : piano, trumpet
   - f) concepts like : machine, gadget, factory
   - g) parts of the human body : hand, head
7. Professions, functions : shepherd, boss
8. Names of
   - a) sports : football, tennis
   - b) dances : jig, shake
   - c) miscellaneous : mental activities, abstract categories, proper names) } philosophy
     class
     boycott
9. Names of clothing : dress, shoe
10. Periods of time, seasons : summer, honey-moon

2.3. *The verbs* deriving from these categories of nouns "*may designate any action or state* that bears a relation to the substantive in question". [6] They all center around the following verbal concepts :

1. *to provide with or put on :* (la, Ib, Ic, 3a, Id, 9)
   (to air, a aerisi, lüften, provetrivat', szellöztetni)
2. *to deprive of :* (3a, Ib, Id)
   (to seed, to dust, pylit', szemezni)
3. *to use, act with the implement named* (6a, 6b, 6c, 6d, 6e, 6f)
   (to ski, to hammer — in all languages)
4. *perform an action, be in a state or transform sth. according to the shape or nature of the thing named.* (4, Ic, 3a)
   (a împietri, to circle, ágozni, to branch)
5. *put into the place or vessel named* (5)
   (a caza, to house, palackázni, auftischen)
6. *act in a way characteristic of animal or person named by the noun.* (3b, 7)
   (to fox, hunzen, schweinzen ; a preoţi ; pótmamázni)
7. *to catch or hunt the animal named* (3b)
   (to fish — in all lang.) ; bogárászni (to go "bugging")
8. *to give birth to, bring forth* (3b)
   (porosit'sja, malacozni, ferkeln, to farrow)
9. *perform game or process named* (8a, 8b, 8c)
   (philosophieren, futballozni)
10. *to spend the time or period named :*
    (nyaralni, to honey-moon, überwintern)

2.4. The diversity of meanings carried by the verbs derived from nouns denoting what seems to be the same concept in different languages may be accounted for by the idiosyncratic way in which the vocabulary of a language works, by the specific way in which the universe and various spheres of human experience are analyzed, divided up and classified into conceptual spheres and lexical fields "whose elements mutually delimit each other and derive their significance from the system as a whole" (5).

In this sense it would be interesting to trace the various meanings (literal and figurative) that the various verb-derivatives acquire in different languages, or, conversely, the verbs by which the same verbal concept may be covered in various languages.

There may be a comfortable parallelism between the verbs of different languages :

a inflori → cvesti → virágozni → blühen → to flower blossom and with other verbs there may be room for a great variety of meanings :

to head — a căpia (go crazy) — köpfen (to behead hit ball with) — fejezni (to flatten by hammering), befejezni (to end), fejeskedni (act stubbornly) ;

to fox (act slyly) — fuchsen (to annoy, to aggravate) — rókázni ⟨ be sick / hunt

3.1. A brief glance at our comparative lists makes it quite clear that all concept classes and all languages do not form the same amount of verbs. In order to get a clearer survey as to how much the inclination towards verb-derivation may vary, we have worked out a table in which the 5 languages have been plotted against the 10 concept classes, both being arranged in the decreasing order of verb derivation tendencies.

Table 2

Conceptual class	E	H	G	Rs	R
1.a. food stuffs put					
deprive	+	+	+	0	+
— eat	—	+	—	—	—
1.b. env. elements	+	+	+	+	+
1.c. materials	+	+	+	+	+
1.d. nat. phenomena	+	+	+	0	+
2. meals, habits	+	+	+	+	+
	0	+	+	—	+
3.a. animals	+	+	+	+	+
3.b. plants	+	+	+	+	+
4. figures	+	+	+	+	+
5. vessels, places	+	+	+	—	0
6.a. implements, tools	+	+	+	0	0
6.b. sports articles	+	+	0	0	0 +
6.c. vehicles	+	+	—	—	0 +
6.d. mass media	+	0	0	+	—
6.e. mus. instrum.	+•	+	+•	—	+
6.f. miscellaneous	+	+	+	+	+•
6.g. parts of body	+	+	+	0	—
7. professions	+	+	0	+	+
8.a. sports	—	+	—	—	0
8.b. dances	+	+	0	+	
8.c. mental act	+	+	+	—	—
proper names					—
9. clothes	+	—	0	—	+
10. per. of time	0 +	+	0	0	0

3.2. As a first feature that strikes us, we mention the fact that the verb-forming potential seems to lie within a nucleus of concept (1—4) where the n → vb. pattern pervades all the languages. There are elements with an immediate bearing upon man and his physical existence.

Here we get complete series like :

to fish — a pescui — fischen — rybalit' — halászni — ; to salt — a săra — salzen — solit' — sózni — ; to winter — überwintern — zimovat' — telelni :

There are slight variations within these classes of concepts as to the number of verbs derived.

The basic pattern seems to have been expanded on to other conceptual classes, depending on a more intimate disposition of each language in turn.

3.3. Hungarian and English top the list : their verb-derivates not only cover a greater number of conceptional spheres on the whole but the verbs derived within one class usually outnumber those of the other languages.

Considering that E and H are two languages so far apart both genetically and structurally (H-Finno-Ugric, agglutinative ; E-Ino-European, inflexional-analytical) the verb-making tendency ("temperament") is quite striking. The more so, as the common lot of verbs is the result of utterly different means of derivation, considering that in E. the zero-morpheme outnumbers the other cases.

Should the common case and inclination towards verb-derivation be looked for in a deeper layer, of an idiosyncratic or even ethnic nature ?

Within the concept class of sports articles E and H are the only languages to form a complete set of verbs, like : sízni — to ski ; korcsolyázni — to skate ; csónakázni — to boat ; szánkázni — to sledge ; whereas in Romanian there is "a skia" and "a patina" in G. "rodeln" and in Rs no verb at all.

Hungarian is the only language possessing verbs derived from names of sports (handballozni, teniszezni, sportolni, fotballozni), while E uses one only verb "to sport" but not meaning : "to practise sports"

Strangely enough, H goes to the length of deriving a verb from "dew" — "harmatozni", where all the other languages use verb-phrases in perfect tenses, perhaps because *dew* has never really been seen falling.

Again it is only in H that we come across verbs of the type "to wine", meaning to have and enjoy the respective drink or food, even implying pleasant company and leisure : borodni, havézni, sörözni, cigarettázni, and even flekenezni, szalonázni. (We are not in a position to explain why the pattern has stopped short of "palinka" (brandy).

E. holds a special place with its verbs derived from articles of clothing : to coat, to dress, to shoe, to cap, to skirt, (where the other languages have one general verb of the type "to dress ankleiden, adevat' sja). These verbs are however largely used also (or only) in figurative meanings (to skirt, to cap, to coat).

3.4. As for the other languages, it might be said that on the whole each has expanded the pattern of denominal verb derivation to other concepts too, but not to the same extent. G holds an intermediate place with no verbs in 2 and some-odd in 6 out of the remaining 13 subclasses outside the "nucleus" concept-classes.

Rs has none in 5, and only a few in 4 out of 13.

R has none in 4, and a few in 5 out of 13.

Do these facts point to a relative preference in these 3 languages for using general rather than specific terms.

In all these sub-classes, the corresponding verbal meaning is expressed by verb-phrases.

3.5. The existence in all the languages of verb-phrases alongside simple verbs, within the same conceptual class or even with the same concept, does not affect the basic disposition. It is the relative preponderence of verbs or vb-phrases that is relevant.

Roughly, the differences between coexisting verbs and verb-phrases may range in the same way as those between synomyms generally do : the oppositions possible are :

1. *at the level of meaning :*

— figurative versus literal — abrahmen-den Rahm abschöpfen
— to egg — to lay/eat an ~
— literal vs literal — verfeuern — Feuer machen

2. *at a stylistic level :*

— colloquial, slang vs. literary — fotbolit' ; igrat' fütbol
— neutre vs. emotionally charged — doktern — Arzt sein

3. *at the level of aspect :*

— occasional, concrete vs. permanent, general — to skate — to go skating ; to pilot — to be the pilot)
— aspect + emotional charge vs. neutral — poharazni — pohár-

4.1. The individual concept-classes provide for the following conclusions :

1. *New concepts* are more easily "verbalized" than older ones, even in the less verb-minded langs (modern tools, abstract nouns, proper nouns): to fabricate — a fabrica — fabrizieren — fabrikovat' — fabrikálni ; vacuum-clean — a aspira — staubsaugern — pylesosit' — pórszívozni ; to industrialize — a industrializa — industrialisieren — industrializirovat' — iparosítani ;

This general tendency which makes itself felt in all the three languages compared is certainly due to the much closer contacts in which the languages come with each other in these very domains, a kind of reciprocal influence. But it is certainly also the result of the pressure of time and same needs of communication, i.e. seems much mare convenient to use the same (or slightly altered) form as verb instead of paraphrazing the term, since the latter often implies more than vague knowledge in the field. Ex. to speroidize (met' ; to faradize (med) ; to ionize (phqs). Under the impact of these two factors the basic pattern of verb derivation existing in each language is resorted to.

A few neologistic suffixes are characteristic of such recent coinings : E-ize ; Rom-iza,-fica ; G-isieren, ifizieren ; Rs-irovat. izirovat' ; H-izalni.

2. The verbs derived from animal names most clearly demonstrate that the new meanings of a word are strictly determined by the analogies the concept can imply according to the experience of the ethnic group in question.

a) Thus only animals traditionally hunted or caught in the geographic area covered by the languages under discussion can generate verbs, with the meaning of to hunt or to catch, — to fish, to rabbit (nyulázni) and even bogarázni, békázni.

b) Nouns referring to the young of animals (mostly domestic) yield verbs to mean : "give birth to", "bring forth".

Except for R, where we have one general verb "a fâta" (equivalent to the G. "jungen"), in all the other languages there is the complete n → vb. list of domestic animals.

jagnit'sja, bárányozni, lammen, to lamb ; porosit'sja, malacozni, ferkeln, to farrow.

c) Adult domestic animals mostly lend themselves to imply a behaviour or treatment like that of the animal named.

Thus the swine or pig has in all languages been employed to express sth. like :

"to mess about/up", "to talk swinishly" or "live in dirty conditions".

a se porci — svinstvovat' — disznólkodni — ver/einschweinzen/ferkeln — to pig it ; also a se maimuţări, — obez'janičat' — majmolni — (nach)äffen — to ape.

To conclude :

1. The noun — verb derivation pattern exists in all the languages compared here. Judging from examples of the last few decades we could venture to state that the flux from nouns to verbs has become stronger even in the languages which by disposition seem to favour it.

2. The direction of derivation is practically in all the languages the same — this stands to reason where the verb refers to a concept which clearly must have belonged to the category of the noun (skate, table) but there are cases where in one language the verb is the derivative while in another it is the noun. These are however rare, they refer to : professions, technical terms, fashion, and they usually overlap with borrowings.

Thus in T and R "to preside" seems to have generated the noun "president" (or the pair was borrowed ready-made) and not vice versa ; but in H and Rs the direction is n → vb : elnök-elnökölni and predsedatel'-predsedatel'stvovat'.

3. If within one conceptual class the verbs of one language show a tendency to figurative meaning, the verbs of the other languages are likely to do so too.

We believe that such a contrastive study, if carried further, i.e. if expanded to a greater corpus of instances, to other means of WB, to more languages genealogically and geographically far apart, and if carried out at a statistical level, would reveal very important universals, as well as intimate peculiarities of each language and would enable the solving of a few of the "mysteries" about the ways of language as such.

Appendix I — the most productive means of denominal verb-derivation.

English

$$\text{(prefix)} + \text{stem} + \text{suffix} \begin{cases} \text{-ise, -ize (added to foreign stems)} \\ \text{"zero" (any stem)} \end{cases}$$

Eg : -to vitaminise, to theorize, to televise, to lunch, to film, to adlib, to focus, to machine-gun, to snow-ball, to guest-star, to streamline, to high-jack.

Backformation (derivation of verbs from nouns mostly ending in -er, -tion, originally made from verbs) is also gaining ground :

Eg : -to stage-manage, to baby-sit, to tape-record, to inflate, to automate, to enthuse.

Romanian

(prefix) + stem + infinitive-morpheme — a
— i
— isi
— ifica
— iza

Eg : -a săra, a prinzi, a aerisi, a ramifica, a vitaminiza.

In some instances a vowel-shift takes place : gheaţă — a îngheţa.

German

(prefix) + stem + infinitival suffix — n
— en
— ieren

Eg : -hämmern, filmen, philosophieren, einkleiden, auftischen.

Russian

$$\text{(prefix' + stem + verbal suffix} \left.\begin{array}{l} \text{— a} \\ \text{— ja} \\ \text{— ova} \\ \text{— irova} \\ \text{— izirova} \end{array}\right\} + \text{t' (infinitive particle)}$$

Eg : -obedat', ujinat', tvistvovat', organizirovat', futbolit'.

Hungarian

(prefix) + stem + verbal suffix — ál/z ; -el z ; -öl/z ; ol/z ; -izál/izel ;
— tet + infinitive suffix "ni"

Eg : -ebédelni, biciklizni, szellöztetni.

EXTRACT OF THE COMPARATIVE LISTS OF VERBS

ROMANIAN		RUSSIAN		HUNGARIAN		GERMAN		ENGLISH	
1 A									
a sâra	a pune sare	solit'	—	sózni	sót tenni	salzen	Salz tun	to salt	to add salt
a pipera	a pune piper	perčit'	—	borsozni	—	pfeffern	Pfeffer tun	to pepper	to add pepper
—	a bea bere	—	pit' pivo	sörözni	sört inni	—	Bier trinken	—	to drink/ have beer
—	a bea cafea	—	pit' kofe	kávézni	kávét inni	—	Kaffee trinken	—	to drink/ have coffee
—	a mînca fleică	—	jest'žarennoe mjaso	flekkenezni	flekkent enni	—	Flecken essen	—	to eat/have a steak
1 B									
a aerisi	a scoate la aer	provetrivat'	—	szellöztetni	—	lüften	an die Luft legen-etc.	to air	—
a lumina	a face lumină	svetat' pylit'	vključit' svet	világitani	világosságot csinálni	belichten/ leuchten	Licht machen	to light	to put on the light
a prâfui	a şterge (a face) praful	napylit' sja	—	porolni	port törölni	ab/bestäuben	den Staub wischen	to dust	to cover with/wipe the dust
1 C									
a cerui	a pune ceară	—	—	viaszolni	—	wachsen	—	to wax	—
a impietri/	a se face ca/	okamenet'		kövezni	—	versteinern/steinigen	zu Stein werden	to stone	to turn into stone
a pietrui	a acoperi cu piatră	mostit'							to throw stones

ROMANIAN		RUSSIAN		HUNGARIAN		GERMAN		ENGLISH	
a săpuni	—	namylit'	—	szappanozni	—	einseifen	—	to soap	—
a arginta	—	serebrit'	—	ezüstözni	—	versilbern	—	to silver	—
1 D									
a ploua	cade ploaia	doždit'	idjot dožd'	esni	esik az esö	regnen	der Regen fällt	to rain	the rain falls
a inzăpezi	cade zăpadă	—	idjot sneg	havazni	hull a hó	schneien	der Schnee fällt	to snow	the snow falls
a ingheța	—	ledenet'	—	jéggé válni	—	vereisen eineisen	—	to ice	—
2									
a cina	a lua cina	lenčevat'	—	vacsorázni	vacsorát enni	nachtmahlen	zu Abend essen	to dine	to have dinner
a dejuna	a lua dejunul	zavtrakat'	—	reggelizni	reggelit enni	frühstückcken	Frühstückeinnehmen	to breakfast	to have breakfast
a se îmbăia	a face baie	—	prinimat' vanu	fürödni/ füröszteni	fürdöt venni	baden	ein Bad nehmen	to bath	to take a bath
3 A									
a pescui	a prinde peşte	rybalit'	itti na rybalku	halászni	halat fogni	fischen	Fische fangen	to fish	to catch fish
—	a prinde vulpi	ohotit'sja za lisami	—	rökázni	rókát fogni	fuchsen	Füchse fagen	to fox	to hunt foxes
a se porci	—	svintsvovat'	—	disznólkodni		schweinzen	—	to pig it	—
3 B 3 A									
a făta	a face viței	telit'sja	—	borjázni	—	kalben	Kälber werfwn	to calve	—
—	a face pui	ščenit'sa	—	kölykezni	—	jungen	Junge kriegen	to cub/ to whelp	—

ROMANIAN		RUSSIAN		HUNGARIAN		GERMAN		ENGLISH	
3 B a înfrunzi/a frunzări	a face frunze	listat'/perelistyvat'	—	lapozni/lapozgatni	—	blättern	Blätter kriegen	to leaf	to come into leaf
a înflori	a face flori	cvesti	—	virágozni	—	blühen	—	to blossom	—
A planta	—	sadit'	—	palántálni	—	pflanzen	Pflanzen setzen	to bloom	—
4 a(con) figura	a face figuri	figurirovat'	—	figurázni	—	figurieren	Figur(en) machen	to figure	to cut a figure
a rîndui	a pune pe rînduri	rjadit'sja	—	sorakozni rendezni	—	ordnen	Ordnung machen	to order	to make order
a forma	—	formiro-	—	formázni, formá lodni	—	formen	—	to form	—
5 —	a pune în oală/ghiveci		nalit'v goršok	—	edénybe tenni	eintopfen	in den Topf tun	to pot	to put into a pot
—	a pune în cutie	paiažit' vat' v korovku	—	beskatulyázni	skatulyába tenni	schachteln	in eine Schachtel tun	to box	to put into a box
5 a înmagazina	a ține/pune în magazie	skladovat'	—	elraktározni	raktárba tartani	speichern magazinieren	im Magazin/Speicher/aufbewahren	to store	to keep in a store
a caza	—	—	—	házalni/házasodni	—	hausen hausieren	—	to house	—

ROMANIAN		RUSSIAN		HUNGARIAN		GERMAN		ENGLISH	
6 a a săpa	—	—	ryt'zastupom	ásni	—	schaufeln/ spachteln	—	to spade	—
—	a incheia cu nasturi	zastjogivat'sja	—	gombázni	—	knöpfeln	—	to button	—
a pieptăna	—	rasčesat'	—	fésülni	—	kämmen	—	to comb	—
a ciocăni	a bate cu ciocanul	molotit'	—	kalapálni	—	hämmern	mit dem Hammer klopfen	to hammer	—
6 b a schia	a te da cu schiurile	—	katat'sja na lyžach	síelni	—	—	skilaufen	to ski	—
a patina	a te da cu patinele	—	katat'sja na kon'kah	korcsolyázni	—	—	Schlittschu laufen	to skate	—
6 c —	a te da cu bicicleta	—	katat'sja na velosipede	biciklizni	—	radeln	Rad fahren	to (by) cycle a bicycle	to ride
—	a merge cu trenul	—	jehat'na poezde	—	vonaton menni	—	mit dem Zug fahren	—	to go by train
6 d a ecraniza	—	ekranizirovat'	—	megfilmesiteni	—	verfilmen	—	to screen	—
6 d a telefona	a vorbi la telefon	telefonirovat'	zvonit' po telefonu	telefonálni	telefonon beszélni	telephonieren	am telephon sprechen	to phone to talk	on the phone

ROMANIAN		RUSSIAN		HUNGARIAN		GERMAN		ENGLISH	
6 e									
—	a cinta la pian	—	igrat' na forte piano	zongorázni	zongorán játszani	—	Klavier spielen	—	to play the piano
—	a cinta la flaut	—		fuvolázni	fuvolán játszani	flöten	Flöte spielen	to flute	to play the flute
—	a cinta la vioară	—		hegedülni	hegedün játszani	geigen	Geige spielen	to fiddle	to play the violin
6 f									
a fabrica	—	fabrikovat'	—	fabrikálni	—	fabrizieren	—	to fabricate	—
—	a amesteca cu mixerul	mixerovat'	—	mixerezni *	—	mixen	—	to mix	—
a industrializa	—	industrializivat'	—	iparositani	—	industrializieren	—	to industrialize	—
6 g									
a mina/ a minui/ a inmina	—	vyryčat'	—	kezelni/	—	(be)/ver)/-handeln aus/einhändigen	—	to handle	— to hand
a ochi	—	glazet'	—	szemlélni szemezni	—	äugen äugeln	—	to eye	—
—	—	—	—	szivlelni	—	herzen	—	to hearten	—
7									
a candida	a fi candidat	kandidirovat'	vystavljat'/kandidaturu	jelölni *	—	kandidieren	—	to candidate	—
a preoţi	a fi preot			papolni	pap lenni	—	Pharrer sein	to minister	to be a minister
—	a fi şef	šefstvovat'	—	fönökölni	—	—	Chef sein	to boss	to be the boss

ROMANIAN		RUSSIAN		HUNGARIAN		GERMAN		ENGLISH	
8 a									
—	a juca handbal	—	igrat'v gandbol	kézilabdázni	—	—	Handball spielen	—	to play handball
—	a face sport	—	zanimat'sja sportom	sportolni	—	—	Sport betreiben	to sport	to practise sport
8 b									
a twista	a dansa twist	tvistvovat'	tancovat' tvist	twisztelni	twiszt táncolni	twisten	Twist tanzen	to twist	to dance the twist
a valsa	a dansa vals	val'sirovat'	tancovat' val's	keringözni	keringöt járni	valzern	Walzer tanzen	to waltz	to dance the waltz
8 C									
a greşi	a face greşeli	grešit'	—	hibázni	hibát csinálni	fehlen	Fehler machen	to mistake	to make mistakes
a americaniza	—	amerikanizirovat'	—	amerikanizálodni	—	amerikanisieren	—	to americanise	—
a filozofa	a face filozofie	filozovstvovat'	—	filozofálni	—	philosophieren	—	to philosophize	—
9									
a se imbrăca	a purta —	odevat'	—	ruházni ruháskodni	—	be/ein/aus/kleiden	—	to dress to coat	—
a se căciuli		—	—	—		stiefeln		to shoe to cap	
10									
a ierna	a petrece a se face iarnă	zimovat'	provodit' zimu	telelni	—	überwintern	den Wintern verbringen	to winter	to spend the winter
—	a se face vară	—	provodit' leto	nyaralni	—	sommern	des Sommer	to summer	to spend the summer
—	a petrece sfirşitul săptăminii	—		weekendezni	—	—	das Weekend verbringen	to wekend	to spend the weekend

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WHENCE THE ENGLISH DECEPTIVE COGNATES ?

ANCA GOCIMAN and ANDREI BANTAŞ

As a continuation of previous contrastive studies and practical investigations into the piltfails of the English vocabulary for Romanian learners [1], the present paper aims at sketching lines of research into the way semantic dissimilarities have emerged along the centuries in the utilization of the Greek-Latin vocabulary in Romanian and other Romance languages on the one hand as against that in English.

However, investigations made by others and ourselves (as well as the statistical information in the second half of this paper) have proved that the Romance languages themselves are not unitary or solidary in the utilization of the Greek-Latin lexis ; they too display divergencies and inconsistences — not always shared by the English vocabulary.

But first of all, the present paper will attempt a clearer identification of the deceptive cognates within the context of the Romance vocabulary, by a more vigorous delimitation of the object of our studies as part of the various types of possible "false friends". We are advancing the following classification :

I. Greek-Latin words whose meaning(s) differ(s) in some languages, though they derive from a common source — and could therefore be called "external false friends". We prefer to call them *genuine deceptive cognates*, that is, those words which can actually be described as such, on a scientific ground. Criteria of subclassification or subdivisions could be their currency, their degree of "jeopardy" and especially the discrimination of a) monosemants with differences between English and Romanian, for instance ; b) polysemants with one different meaning ; c) polysemants with several different meanings, and d) (much rarer) polysemants with all meanings different in the two languages. On the whole we may say that their meaning/meanings may have followed parallel though partially or totally different roads-for various reasons, such as partial selection, extension, narrowing of meaning, etc. in one of the two languages or in an intermediate language. An example is

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[1] Cf. A. Bantaş and M. Rădulescu, *Capcanele vocabularului englez*, Editura Ştiinţifică, 1967, and A. Gociman and A. Bantaş, *Main Aspects of Deceptive Cognates in English, Romanian, French, Italian and Spanish*, in Analele Universităţii Bucureşti, 1976.

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provided by the word *genial* which has gradually lost in English the meaning which Romanian employs, on the contrary preserving several meanings ("nice", "agreeable", "pleasant", "jovial", etc.) entirely absent in Romanian. Similarly, *sympathy* with its well-known meanings ("comprehension", "pity", "compasion" and even "condolence") has another sense in Romanian ("liking").

Incidentally, certain crossings or wrong superpositions of the various parts of speech may increase the difficulties and errors : contrary to the impression that endings usually create, the English noun *leper* corresponds to R. "lepros" while E. *leprosy* corresponds to R. "lepră" (not figuratively, however. The same is also due to the fact that either English or Romanian took over from Latin (or from French) fewer parts of speech represented by one and the same polyfunctional word, than the other language : the R. "filial" is translated into English by *filial* when an adjective, but the R. "filială" is a noun which has to be translated by *branch*.

II. Some English words display similarities — accidental or not — because of polysemy, paronymy, polyfunctionalism, composition, differences between dialects or between British and American English, etc. We could therefore accept for them the term of "internal false friends" as the deception is based on treacherous similitudes with the lexis of the same language —, that is, on the independent evolution of that language, without any parallel abroad. (They are potential risks for English people too).

Their subdivision is proposed as follows :

II.A. Polysemants, paronyms or polyfunctional words (noncompound), usually forming separate entries in dictionaries, especially in the large ones. (In fact they ought to be separated for both etymological and other reasons).

For instance, homonyms : *lay* may be 1. a noun ("song", "ballad") ; 2. an adjective ("secular") ; 3. a verbal form further differentiated as the infinitive and indicative of "*to lay — laid — laid*" or the past tense of *to lie — lay — lain*. Moreover, the addition of the substantival suffix *-er* yields the homonyms *layer* [1] ("stratum") and *layer* [2] ("a fowl which lays eggs"), therefore generating new possibilities for confusion.

II.B. Compound words whose meaning is not (and cannot be inferred from) the sum total or the senses of their components :

For instance, *man-of-war* and *man of the world*.

II.C. Polysemants with one or several meanings refusing precluding their utilization in certain contexts. E.g. the adjective *buxom* with two different meanings — "plump" and "attractive" — the latter not fitting (or rather contradicting) a negative or derogatory context, such as "Mary" is short, buxom and plain" where it has to be replaced by another adjective with negative connotations.

Of course certain mistakes in interpretation may be due to an impervious mind of a pseudotranslator who cannot make any selection function of the context. (Such an extreme case was provided by an old

Romanian translation from English, including the suprising ad-literam interpretation of the passage : "the train was running thunderously on the *sleepers*"). If ignorance goes hand in hand with stupidity, imagine what the same man could have done in rendering the opposite meaning of the same word in the title of H.G. Well's novel *When the Sleeper Wakes*.

II.D. Semantic differences between English dialects, regional vocabularies and especially between American and British English also give rise to (potential) false friends.

Examples would be provided by *elevator*, *uptown* and *downtown* that may generate confusions.

III. Further deceptive cognates are generated by relations between English and Romanian, either direct or indirect, or sometimes subject to the influence or contamination of a third language.

The following subdivisions could be made :

III.A. English borrowings into Romanian, usually but not always made through French. They appear with just one of their meanings, or with slightly or substantially altered meaning(s). Examples are numerous : "*poker*" meaning only a card game in Romanian, "*club*" meaning only association in Romanian and especially the word "*bar*" (taken up with the meaning "pub", "barroom", but also extended to the meaning of "night club" moreover undergoing an autonomous evolution in contemporary Romanian by further extension to "*bar de zi*" = "coffee-house" or "discothèque" as well as a piece of furniture which could be called "drink cabinet"). Some of the earliest examples are those used by Caragiale even as titles for two of his sketches — *High Life* and *Five o'Clock* — both constructions being based on meanings slightly distorted as compared to the original English ones : "high society" for the former and "tea-party" for the latter. Serious and rather frequent mistakes are made by Romanians because they have adopted the English word *smoking jacket* in the clipped form "smoching" as well as with the changed meaning of "dinner jacket" or "tuxedo". (Therefore a formal dress and not an item of clothing to be worn in private).

III.B. Another source of mistakes is provided by words originating in languages other than Latin and having penetrated both the English and the Romanian lexis, though with different acceptations. An example is provided by the Arabian *sherbet* which means in Romanian a sort of hard boiled, candied fruit syrup.

III.C. A few Romanian words supposed by some people to be of English origin and therefore to have the same meaning in English e.g. the Romanian word "*blochaus*" was taken over from German with the meaning of "block of flats" (as a matter of fact, now mostly replaced by the clipped form "*bloc*"), while the English word *block-house* ("casemate" or "log-house") seems to have been formed in English.

III.D. A source of difficulties — to the same extent to which any paronyms may be difficulties — is provided by English words just accidentally similar to some Romanian words, though having no common source. This is a category of pitfalls dangerous mostly for beginners, and the list could be extremely long : *drum, pod, cat.*, etc.

IV. Certain English words more or less incidentally resembling those in other languages may mislead the Romanians who are already conversant with the respective language(s).

They can appear in the following varieties :

IV.A.French words which have been taken up by the English (not by Romanians, however) and have moreover suffered semantic diversification, *in English*, being therefore deceptive for those who interpret them in their French sense. For instance, people who have learnt French first may be inclined to take the English word *trespass* in the sense of the French word "trépas".

IV.B. Similar confusions may be generated by certain English words which display fortuitous similarities with those in other languages (without originating in the same source). The English word *gift* is sometimes considered suspiciously by certain people who bear in mind the meaning of the German word. Similarly the assimilation of the French vocabulary may generate mistakes in connection with the English verb *to bless* because of its haphazard similitude with the French verb *blesser*.

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After this evaluation of the groups and sub-groups of possible pitfalls in the English vocabulary, as seen from the point of view of the Romanians, the necessity is felt for a further diachronic analysis of the semantic evolution of false friends, to see *where* and (if possible) *when* happened the break which further led to such striking differences.

In carrying on our investigation of the various changes through which the meaning of Greek Latin words have passed, we resorted to a small corpus which this time included 60 of the most "dangerous" deceptive cognates (a random sample).

It would be difficult to describe here all the details of the factual and statistical analysis concerning the semantic evolution of the words which we may safely include in the more numerous as well as more dangerous, important and scientifically grounded category of deceptive cognates, i.e. those lexical elements which appear with different meanings in English and Romanian although they have their origin in the same Latin, vulgar Latin or late Latin word or root.

We shall confine ourselves to presenting a few highlights of the results yielded by the factual and statistical analysis of this corpus focussing on a handful of top-danger pitfalls — or rather some of the most glaring instances of difference between the two languages, while considering the evolution of these words in French (as an intermediate in many cases)[2].

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[2] As terms of comparison we also referred to the fate of the respective words in Spanish and Italian — though such problems preoccupied us more amply in the article for *Analele Universității București*.

Sometimes we have noticed divergent, so to say centrifugal evolutions in two languages — mainly English and Romanian (for which one of the reasons may be their peripheral situation in relation to the Romance languages or inside the Latin world).

Sometimes the differentiations are subtler than they appear at first sight — depending on extensive or less extensive progress of the meanings of a polysemant in one direction or another. At other times the factual evidence regarding the differentiation is not conclusive enough and research has to be expanded further.

Nevertheless, a multilateral and thoroughgoing consideration of the elements provided by facts and statistics seem to be clear enough :

Out of the sixty false friends selected, the situation emerges as follows :

10 appear as unconclusive (do not warrant any clear opinion).
8 include divergencies regarding some modern senses which could not have appeared in Latin (e.g. *camera, cable, lantern*).

Therefore we can exclude these words from our analysis in order to make our purpose clearer.

In 8 words, English is the deviating divergent language
in 16 words French and Romanian are the deviating divergent languages
in 11 words Romanian alone is divergent
while 7 words have undergone concomitant diverging evolutions.

If we concentrate on the illustrative, convincing instances we notice that the English lexis is the deviating one in only 1/6 of the cases, French and Romanian put together in nearly 4/6 of the cases, while 1/6 of the words have gone separate, divergent ways.

The statistical approach, which, for the time being, was restricted to a limited number of words should in the future be extended to the whole of the English vocabulary. The results will probably prove rewarding indeed.

Having pondered upon some of these cases and reasons of differentiation, we have reached the following remarks :

1. In most cases, it is not a matter of complete incongruence or non-superposition, but rather of differences in the currency of one sense or another in the two languages considered in their historical development (which reinforces our former contention that polysemants provide the most numerous sources of mistakes).

Known as meaning "*cheerful*" in English and "*of genius*" in Romanian, for instance, the word *genial* is considered by most of us as a dangerous false friend. An historical survey points to this fact that the only meaning of the word in French and Romanian ("of genius"), which, as matter of fact, did not exist in Latin (the Latin word "genius" meant "appétit", "gourmandise", "plaisir de la table") does exist in English too, but is less frequently known and used.

2. Thus, the "incriminated" sense or senses of polysemants coexist in 2 or 3 languages compared, only that they are (no longer) current in one of the latter. But after all, differences in the relative currency of meaning are always numerous, moreover being a matter rather difficult to establish accurately — except through modern, perphaps computerized technical means.

3. In some deceptive cognates and especially in those displaying the widest or most dangerous differences between English, on the one hand, and Romanian French on the other, the source of the pitfalls does not lie in English (e.g. *fenial, enervate, cabinet, corpse*, etc.).

It is the French and Romanian words "*énerver*" and "*énervé*" that have not selected the meanings of the Latin word "*enervare*" ("to cut the nerves", "to weaven"), while the English *to enervate* is still the most faithful to its Latin origin. In other instances, such as the English words *fabric* and *chemist* English is responsible for the differentiation of meaning.

4. Surprisingly enough, it seems that English selected and preserved more (if not all) of the original meanings of some Greek Latin words — while French was more parsimonious in its selection of meanings adopted.

The French word "désolé" — and subsequently the Romanian "dezolat" selected only one of the several meanings of the Latin "desolatus" while the English polysemant "desolate" closely followed the Latin pattern retaining all the meanings of the latter ("lonely", "destitute of inhabitants", "laid waste" and "disconsolate").

5. Incidentally, the same seems to apply to Spanish. (Cf. our article in *Anale*).

6. Naturally enough, using French as an intermediate source for borrowings, Romanian was even more sparing.

7. On the other hand, *English* (though not a Romance language originally, and not being considered one now either — in spite of the large proportion of its Greek Latin French lexis —) nevertheless *seems to have more faithfully absorbed the Greek Latin lexis* during the ten waves of Latin influence upon its vocabulary.

8. It also appears that the English borrowings from the Greek Latin vocabulary at the time of the Renaissance (especially during the 16th century and including most of the words considered by us as serious pitfalls) were made in a thoroughgoing, earnest way — which points to the *conscious* activity of scholars rather than to the *unconscious* one of the public at large.

9. So we are struck by the fact (for which many justifications can be found though) that the natural evolution of the lexis in Romance languages has been more capricious — if dynamic — than the more scholarly, or erudite, conscious and deliberate borrowings made by the English (because they were felt necessary for filling some gaps in the

vocabulary. Such borrowings seem to have been justified with a vengeance not only by momentary requirements, but also by their hardihood, which has made them resist in the language (in spite of the disappearance of some of these meanings — actually independent of the situation in other languages).

10. Therefore, actual false friends are a matter of bipartite or tripartite linguistic relations and occasionally also of socio-linguistic implications : moments in a certain nation's history and *culture*, not only in the evolution of the language they speak.

REMARKS ON LEXICAL ERRORS

DAVID HODGDON and MARIANA POPA

Data for the analysis of errors presented here was collected at the University of Timișoara in 1972, 1973, and 1974, using two types of tests which we designate here as A and B.

Test A comprised compositions given to students in the intermediate courses of Intensive English at the University. The subjects, divided into two groups of twelve, were given several tasks, among them the retelling of a story from the viewpoint of another character, comparing education in the United States with education in Romania, writing a letter from material presented orally in Romanian, imagining a trip to San Francisco, describing their winter holidays and so on.

Test B, a list of native English words, generally of one syllable chosen at random by an American speaker as items common in everyday speech, was given to forty second year and ten fourth year students in the English faculty of the University. The subjects were asked to select from the list only words whose meanings they were sure they knew and with those words to build simple sentences.

In a preliminary analysis of the errors collected through administration of both tests, gramatical errors were separated from lexical errors [1] and an attempt was made to measure the grossness of the mistake by separating errors that break up communication or cause misunderstanding from those maintaining the intelligibility of the message. This functional gauging of each mistake is in our view of crucial importance. Before everything else, the simple determination of the effect of the message is what matters : either the error interrupts communication or it does not. [2]

In Test A the total number of errors was 413 out of which 361 were grammatical errors, the remaining 52 lexical ones. Of the 361 grammatical errors 36 rendered the message unintelligible while 325

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[1] Word structure errors were considered lexical errors.

[2] "The information gained from E(rror) A(nalysis) and C(ontrastive) A(analysis) cannot be applied immediately to the planning of courses and the construction of teaching materials in foreign languages. In the first place, we need studies of the effect of different types of errors on the efficiency of communication. Such studies are important, since they reveal the areas where the need of teaching is the greatest". S. Johansson, "Uses of Error Analysis and Contrastive Analysis", *ELT Journal*, vol. XXIX, No. 4, July 1975, p. 334.

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merely caused the native speaker a certain uneasiness but were judged in no way damaging to communication.[3] Of the 52 lexical errors 37 caused misunderstanding or rendered the message unitellingible. Henceforward errors causing misunderstanding or unitelligibility will be called *functional errors*, as opposed to non-functional ones. We wish to stress at this point that functional errors were identified by the responses of decoders who were native English speakers.

In test B only 20 per cent of the words on the list were selected by the students as "known words". As we expected, having in view the type of error solicitation——making up *simple* sentence——lexical errors by far exceeded the grammatical errors, which respresented only 5 of the total of 53 errors. None of the grammatical errors were functional. Of the 48 lexical errors 24 were functional errors.

This preliminary sorting of errors into grammatical and lexical as well as establishing the number of functional and non-functional errors within the two groups has led to the conclusion that lexical errors, neglected in past studies, should receive due attention in error analysis, as they are by far the errors most likely to cause misunderstanding or total break of communication. While earlier studies stress grammatical errors, relatively few such errors found by us or cited in a typical analysis[4] affect the efficiency of communication. Consequently, we have chosen to concentrate here on functional lexical errors in Romanian learners. Non-functional lexical errors, as evident from our preliminary analysis of the aberrant corpus, do occur. In our sample such errors included the mixing of styles, the use of word groups so unusual as to break the selection restrictions characteristic of the target language without altering the intended message, coinages according to the well-established rules of word formation in English, and confusion between similar sound forms in the target language or between forms that belong to the same semantic field, both of which however, occur in a rich enough verbal context for the decoder to guess the intention accurately. Since for the most part these are not errors in the profound sense, but anomalous verbal behaviour, generally tagging the speaker as a foreigner, we think it prudent for the moment to forego their lengthy examination.[5]

The next step in our analysis was to interview each participant in Romanian. By this means the encoder's interpretation of the functional lexical error was recorded, the various responses then grouped and catalogued, and the data, thus sorted, provided us with the differentia by which types of lexical errors were identified.

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[3] Such errors included omission or unnecessary insertion of articles, misuse of prepositions, lack of agreement between subject and verb, wrong use of tenses, unusual word order.

[4] Cf. Charles M. Carlton, "On Error Analysis", *Further Developments in Contrastive Studies. The Romanian-English Contrastive Analysis Project.* Bucharest University Press, 1974, pp. 37—38.

[5] We list below a number of sentences illustrating these different types of non-functional lexical errors.

*After this *explication* everything was OK.
*I looked at her *pretty mug*.
*They *do* much *noise*.
*There they *fired* a small *fire*.
*Sometimes they *fit* each other with snowballs.
*He plunged in the water with a terrible *slash*.
*I had to get on a bus and ask the *controller* about Stanford's address.

Finally, the possible *source* of each type of error was determined : interference of base and target language (Romanian-English), regularizing (or over-generalizing) according to patterns already acquired in the target language (English-English), or confusion between similar sound forms or between words belonging to the same semantic field.

Several examples of each error type and its source are offered below.

Type 1. Use of a lexical item non-existent in the target language. The learner uses non-existent lexical items : *auto-stop (R)* for *hitchhiking* (E), or *auto-service* (R) for *department store* (E). He introduces Romanian items into English, wrongly assuming that they also exist in English, producing sentences such as :

*On Saturday Tom is going to Lugoj by auto-stop.

*I like shopping in an auto-service.

Source of error : interference R—E.

Type 2. *Assignment of meaning to a lexical item in the target language.* The learner uses a lexical item that exists in English and assigns to it the meaning carried by a similar sound form in Romanian : *spectacles* for *shows*, *terrains* for *playing fields* or *pick-up* for *record-player*.

*We'll not be able to go to the spectacles in the future.

*All the universities have their own sports teams and terrains.

*In the living room there are also a radio, a pick-up and records.

Source of error : interference R—E.

Type 3. *Addition of meaning to a lexical item in the target language.* The learner uses an English lexical item with which he is familiar in its contextually-free meaning and extends the semantic range of this term so that it also covers the additional meaning(s) that the corresponding Romanian lexical item (a different or similar sound form) has in Romanian : *keep* used for *last*, *library* for *bookcase*, *situation* for *documents*.

*I most like his library, a modern piece of furniture.

*The conversation with the person from the Embassy kept ten minutes.

*I had to bring with me all the situations.

Source of error : interference R—E.

Type 4. *Assignment of case frame features to a lexical item in the target language.* The learner uses a lexical item that exists in English assigning it case frame features that correspond in English to another lexical item with the same semantic representation. This happens because in Romanian there is only one lexical item which has case frame features corresponding to the two English lexical items : English *remember* *[—D+O]* and *remind* *[—A+D+O]*, Romanian *a aminti* *[—(A)+D+O]*. The Romanian learner uses the lexical item *remember* assigning to it case frame features which characterize the item *remind*, with the following result :

*My father understood me ,but remembered me that I wasn't yet 25.

Source of error : Interference R—E.

Type 5. *Non-observance of restrictions on the co-occurrence of lexical items, which affects meaning.* The learner is unaware of the restrictions imposed on an adjective with certain nouns for a certain meaning, as such restrictions do not exist or are different in Romanian, producing sentences like :

*They have a great garden.

*They have a great family.

Such constructions are more often than not interpreted by the native speaker as meaning "They have a wonderful garden", "They have a nice family", whereas the Romanian learner meant "They have a large garden", "They have a large family".

Source of error : interference R—E.

Type 6. *Coinage of a new lexical item.* The learner is familiar with nouns converted from verbs and coins *sign* for *signature*, with verbs converted from adjectives and coins *bright* for *to brighten*, with nouns in *-ing* and coins *exciting* for *excitement*, etc. Sometimes these new coinages are supported by interference from Romanian : *universitary* for *university* (attributive use).

*I have succeeded in getting all the signs.

*He didn't realize my touching and exciting.

*It was so exciting when I could see... the blue sky brighting in the sunshine.

*Universitary education...

This last group was interpreted by the native speakers as either "university education" or "universal education".

Source of error : regularization E—E. or regularization combined with interference.

Type 7. *Wrong choice between lexical items in the target language.* The learner uses *hind* for *hide*, *splint* for *split*, *sable* for *saber*, etc., or *rinse* for *dry* as in the following sentences :

*He hinds the book under the table.

*The atom of radium was splint.

*The fighter had a sable at his side.

*I washed myself with fresh cold water and soap and rinsed myself with a big rough towel.

Source of error : confusion between similar sound forms or between words that belong to the same semantic field.

All the errors listed above to exemplify the different types were identified as functional errors by the native English speakers. In our total lexical aberrant corpus all erros of types 1, 2, 3, and 4 were functional. Errors of types 5, 6, and 7 were both functional and non-functional. (see Note 5 for illustrations of non-functional lexical errors).

The great majority of lexical errors were of type 7, i.e. due to confusion between similar sound forms in the target language. Like regularizations, confusions between similar sound forms also occur in the child who acquires his mother tongue or in learners with different base languages.[6]

The two part analysis of functional lexical errors (type and source of error) presented here seems to us incomplete without some general conclusions and indications of what steps the teacher might take to help students avoid such errors.

Many teachers influenced by the audio-lingual method of instruction concentrate on grammatical patterns and phonetic features, while vocabulary problems are shifted to the background. This situation is well reflected-and is indeed reinforced——by the character of textbooks published everywhere. Most of them are given over completely to the study of grammatical problems ; few of them consider the acquisition of vocabulary. Our sample of functional errors should convince everybody that the teaching of vocabulary at all levels of study, from beginners to advanced students, should receive due and renewed attention.

In devising materials for teaching vocabulary, the results of error analysis at the lexical level can make a forceful contribution. Certain types of errors (type 6 and 7 in our analysis) could never have been predicted by a theoretical contrastive analysis alone. Besides, contrastive analysis *in abstracto* at this level, respresents an enormous task, with perhaps insuperable difficulties, especially on account of the large inventory or lexical units, their bewildering complexity, loose structuring, and indeterminacy of semantic inference. Error analysis at this level serves best by pointing the main areas of difficulty. Textbooks can be written illustrating the commonest functional lexical errors with accompanying examples of preventive and remedial drills in vocabulary.

The techniques for teaching vocabulary should be differentiated and varied according to the type of error which is likely to occur. To prevent errors of type 1 we might suggest the use of drawings, pictures, and translations from Romanian into English, since here we atempt to prevent the learner from introducing Romanian lexical items into English. Errors of type 2 are the inevitable "false friends" of so many texts. To prevent or remedy errors of assigned meaning is a thankless pedagogical task, but necessary and the effort must be made. Here once again recourse to translation seems sound advice : "the English for *spectacol de teatru* (R) is *show*, the English for *teren de sport* (R) is *playing field*." etc. Errors of type 3 and 4, addition of meaning and assignment of case frame features can be remedied or prevented by the invention of contextualized communication drills which meet the known difficulty in specific terms. Of course here translation must be avoided and the drills contrived in such a way as to contain the lexical items contrastively.

Teacher : How long will your meeting *last* ? May I *keep* this book till after the meeting ?

Student : The meeting will *last* for an hour. *Keep* the book as long as you want.

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[6] The following were observed by us. Romanian children confused *măduvă*, "marrow", with *văduvă*, "widow", Russian learners of Romanian confused *stafii*, "ghosts", with *stafide*, "raisins", *sărac*, "poor", with *sărat*, "salted", and German learners of Romanian confused *glob*, "globe", with *gloabă* "jade".

Such exercises are also recommended for erors of type 6, new coinages. Here translations may, however, accompany the contextualized communication drills.

Teacher : Please *sign* this paper. I must have your *signature*.

Student : And I need your *signature*, too. Will you *sign* here, please?

To prevent or remedy errors of type 5, non-observance of selection restrictions which affect meaning, we suggest the use of vocabulary drills emphasizing contrasts such an the one between *great* in 'great joy', 'great care' or *great* as in "We had a great time in Bucharest" and *great* as used in "The Duke was the head of a great family".

Again, translation into Romanian should by no means be discounted as a teaching technique. A discriminating use of translations from Romanian into English or the reverse is advocated here as a strategy for the elimination of some erros among the types determined to be characteristic in Romanian learners. Translation as a technique in vocabulary teaching should always be accompanied by contextualized drills and should be wholly avoided in cases where errors of type 3 or 4, i.e. addition of meaning and assignement of case frame features are being remedied. Here the contextualized communication drills will bring out the differences between native and target language and subsequent drilling in meaningful contexts will go far to remedy or prevent such errors.

Errors of type 7, the most frequent in our aberrant corpus, suggest to us that native English words, particularly those frequent in everyday speech and usually of one or two syllables, are especially troublesome to the Romanian learner. One explanation seems to be that few if any such terms can be learned by associational techniques. Almost all of the words on the list in Test B are Anglo-Saxon in origin and thus have no Romance root to assist the learner. Ironically, while these lexical items are the hardest to acquire, they are also items met most regularly in English and American media, television, radio and cinema. Perhaps more significant is the weight given to this lexicon by American writers and poets, English journalists and critics. Acquisition of a selected vocabulary of this kind strikes us as an important component, therefore, in the last as in the initial stages of training in English. .

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CONTRASTIVE ASPECTS (ROMANIAN-ENGLISH) IN THE CODE OF COMPUTING TECHNOLOGY TEXTS

MIHAELA TABACU

Electronic Data Processing (= EDP = PAD = Prelucrarea Automată a Datelor) is a relatively new domain : the history of computing technology registered its main commencement when the installation of the first computer took place in the United States in 1951.

This paper attempts to deal with the contrastive aspects with which the Romanian language as base language (BL) and the English language as foreign language (FL) are confronted in the texts of computing technology.

Both the texts translated from English into Romanian and those written directly in Romanian keep using specialized terms in their English abbreviated form on the one hand and terms entirely taken over from English on the other hand.

The decoding of certain messages emitted in the code of a FL implies a mechanical learning of these terms by a great number of receivers. On the way : research institute — manufacturing plant — final users, the receiving of such messages involves receivers whose knowledge in point of the respective FL — English in our case happens to be at very different levels (some are very familiar with it while others are entirely unacquainted with it). From a psycholinguistic point of view, it would be better if all messages — abbreviated or not — were emitted, or transposed, in case of translations — in the linguistic code of the BL.

This paper tries to draw attention to certain aspects which are both interesting from a contrastive point of view and practical from the specialists' viewpoint.

A. Abbreviated Messages

Since a complete and systematized Romanian dictionary of the abbreviated messages circulating in this field does not yet exist, the specialized texts continue to convey messages that are abbreviated in the code of the English language. Consequently, a study of the criteria of abbreviation is necessary in at least two perspectives :

1. with a view towards a correct decoding of the messages that are used in their English abbreviated forms ;

2. with a view towards creating Romanian abbreviated forms of the respective messages according to very objective principles.

The final objective is, of course, a practical one, namely that of establishing the most adequate forms of abbreviated messages or, as it was pointed out in Tatiana Slama-Cazacu, "Words and 'Abbreviations' "[1], such studies have to "establish, among others, the optimum formal structure and the more appropriate'length' of As"[2].

Criteria of Abbreviation

A.I. FIRST CRITERION (core-representing criterion): in order for the receiver to be able to correctly decode a message transmitted in its abbreviated form, it is necessary to represent every essential word of the message by at least one letter, in the abbreviated form.

In this case, by "essential word" one has to understand any word the omitting of which would endanger the correct decoding of the message. Such situations generally occur by omitting certain link words, wrongly considered as being unimportant. As it was already underlined in Tatiana Slama-Cazacu, "Introduction to Psycholinguistics"[3], "the essential problem that may be of interest to psycholinguistics is that of the optimum rendering of the utilized messages", taking into account the words-saving principle. At least one example met by the above mentioned author should be mentioned here, namely the message "temperatură ardere" ("burning temperature") which is an ambiguous message since there are two possible interpretations of it, entirely different from one another: "temperature necessary for burning something", or "dangerous temperature because it can cause unwanted burning of something".

A.I.a. In the language of computing technology (both in English and in Romanian) the abbreviated messages are generally made up of the initial letters of the words contained by those messages. Thus, the message "integrated circuit" (= circuit integrat) has the abbreviated form IC in English and CI in Romanian.

Another example :

EDP = electronic data processing =
= PAD = prelucrarea automată a datelor.

The representation of the words of a message by letters others than the initial ones is dealt with as the second criterion of abbreviation.

A.I.b. In many cases, the abbreviated form of a message comprises more than the initial letters of the respective words. From the point of view of the graphical representation, such a message can be of two types :

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[1] Tatiana Slama-Cazacu and Anca Dabija: "Perception Time and Motor Reaction Time for Verbal Stimuli of Different Lengths", — Rev. Roum. Sci. Sociales, Psychologie, 14, 2, 1970, p. 125. Bucharest.

[2] As = abbreviations.

[3] Editura Ştiinţifică, Bucureşti, 1966, p. 235.

1. abbreviated message written with small letters — a graphical representation especially used in English :

op amp = operational amplifier
rcv = receive
rcd = record

2. abbreviated message written with capital letters, a graphical representation equally used in English and Romanian.

The decoding of a message of the second type is sometimes more difficult than the decoding of a message of the first type, since the former is absolutely identical in form with messages the abbreviated forms of which are made up of initial letters only. Thus, a message like :

RDT = remote data terminal (terminal de distanţă) differs in no formal point from the message :

RDP = read peripheral (periferic de citire).

The problem that has to be solved by psycholinguistics is that of establishing the proper kind of letters (capital or small ones) to be used for representing a certain word of the message in its abbreviated form in order to facilitate the process of decoding. If the message RDP had been abbreviated as RDP, the decoding would have probably been easier because the receiver would have perceived more rapidly the two capital letters and would have therefore understood that this message comprises two words and not three.

In order to further build up new messages, correctly abbreviated in the code of the Romanian language, it is advisable to use capital letters for the initial letters only. The inobservance of this request accounts for confusions between messages wrongly abbreviated in Romanian and abbreviations already existing as such in English. Thus, the Romanian message IMP (= imprimantă = printer) should have been encoded as Imp in order to avoid confusion with the English IMP which stands for the abbreviated form of the message "interface message processor" (= procesor de interfaţare).

Psycholinguistic investigations should also be directed towards the studying of another not yet settled problem, namely that of objectively selecting the letters that should represent the words of a message in its abbreviated form — in those cases when the words are not represented by their initial letters only.

Thus, in our opinion, STRAT PLAN is a wrong abbreviation of the message "strategic planning" (= planificare strategică), since it may also be decoded as "strategic plan" (= plan strategic).

Message abbreviation aims at increasing the speed of emitting — receiving of messages, a practical purpose which is not always kept in view. In some instances, certain unnecessary letters are maintained in the abbreviated forms of the messages. Thus, the abbreviated message SISTIAC (= sistem de învăţare cu ajutorul calculatorului), that is, CATM (computer-assited trainig model), is not an economic representation : the same message can be abbreviated as SIAC only.

A.I.c. The necessity of understanding psycholinguistic research becomes more evident when attempting to objectively determine which words cannot be omitted from the abbreviated form of a message, that is, to establish the key — words of a certain message. For instance, the English abbreviated message IDMS can be interpreted as standing for "integrated data management system" (= sistem integrat de administrare a datelor) and in no case for "integrated database management system" (= sistem integrat de administrare a băncii de date). The possibility of wrongly decoding this abbreviation is generated by the subjective omission of the word "base" (= bancă) from the abbreviated form of the message, although "base" is by no means a key — word of this message.

That is why, in order to correctly build up the Romanian abbreviated forms of messages it is advisable to start form the unabbreviated forms of the English messages and not from the abbreviated ones.

A.II. SECOND CRITERION (criterion of memorizing and pronouncing facility): message abbreviation has to have in view the facility of memorizing (a) and pronouncing (b) the abbreviated forms of messages.

Consequently, the omission or representation of certain words of a message in its abbreviated form is determined by the necessity of conveying to the receiver an encoded message as easy to memorize and pronounce as possible.

A.II.a. In English the difficulty of memorizing a long abbreviated form of a message is avoided by building up — even forcedly sometimes — an abbreviated form identical with an already existing word belonging to the basic vocabulary of the English language.

Thus, the message "beginners'all — purpose symbolic instruction code" is abbreviated as BASIC, the word "purpose" being purposely omitted, since the abbreviation BAPSIC would have been inconvenient in point of memorizing. In Romanian, this message, meaning "cod simbolic universal de instrucţiuni pentru incepători" can be abbreviated as CSUII and not as CSII, that is, starting from the unabbreviated English message and not from the abbreviated one ; still, this being rather difficult to pronounce, the English BASIC is used exclusively.

Another exemple in which the intention was obviously that of obtaining an abbreviated form identical with a certain English word is the message "structural engineering system solver" which was abbreviated as STRESS (= presiune, apăsare, accent, etc.) and not as SESS, which means nothing ; in Romanian this message means "rezolvitor de probleme in ingineria structurală" and there is no Romanian abbreviation for it.

This rather forced way of building up abbreviated messages identical in form with words belonging to the basic vocabulary of the English language is especially used in the case of messages with a great number of words, possibly new ones, in order to facilitate their transmission.

A.II.b. In order to facilitate the pronounciation by the receiver of certain more difficult messages, it is not always the initial letter of a word that is maintained in the abbreviated form of a message, but another letter, the utilization of which results in a form very easy to pronounce. Thus, the message “multiple access executive” is abbreviated as MAX and not as MAE, the word “executive” being represented by X which was considered the most representative letter of the word. In Romanian, this message (program director cu acces multiplu) could be abbreviated as PDAM or, even better as ProDAM, which would be easier to pronounce and decode.

A.III. Double Encoding

The problem of finding certain ways of encoding a message so as to obtain an abbreviated form of it that has to be very convenient for decoding concerns especially those messages that reach a high frequency of transmission at a certain moment of the evolution of computing technology. Such cases resulted in double encoded messages :

— the first level of encoding consists in representing
the words of a message by their initial letters :
“injection integrated logic” = IIL
“isoplanar injection integrated logic = IIIL
— the second level of encoding is a sort of “mathematization” of the first level of encoding :
IIL = I^2L
IIIL = I^3L

Although these messages can easily be translated and abbreviated into Romanian, namely :
“logică integrată cu injecţie” = LII
“logică integrată cu injecţie izoplanară = LIII,
they are used however under their English abbreviated forms and pronounced : “ipatratel” and “icubel” respectively.

This type of message is frequent enough in technical languages and is largely treated in Tatiana Slama-Cazacu, “Communication in the process of work”[4], where the message pronounced “emdeurile”, that is, “MD = motoare Dieel = Diesel engines” is dicussed.

B. Messages Entirely Taken Over from English

Psycholinguistic research should be directed towards another aspect too, namely towards studying and establishing objective criteria of finding the most suited messages that have to use words belonging to the vocabulary of the Romanian language in order to render already sanctioned English messages.

Unfortunately, in most cases no attempt is made to use Romanian words and thus English words are sometimes taken over as auch, without modifying them at all ; thus, for instance, the English “multiplexor” remains and becomes the Romanian “multiplexor”, the English “display” becomes the Romanian “display”, etc. The arguments aiming at supporting the utilization of such unmodified English words are at least two :

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[4] Editura Ştiinţifică, Bucureşti, 1964, p. 197.

“MD = motoare Diesel = Diesel engines” is discussed.

1. the technologies and devices denominated by these terms are top technologies and devices and their denominations became very well-known in English from the very beginning due to the rich specialized English literature existing in this domain ; consequently, by using the English terms one has the advantage that they correspond to the international documentation ;

2. in order to render in Romanian the content of some of these new terms, it is sometimes necessary to build up messages of an inconvenient length which would be difficult to memorize even in their abbreviated forms. For instance : "multiplexor" can be translated into Romanian by : "dispozitiv ce permite trecerea simultană a mai multor semnale pe aceeași cale de transmitere", while "display" means : "unitate terminală care prezintă datele sub formă vizuală, temporar, în general pe un tub catodic" : the Romanian abbreviated forms of these messages would sound like that :
DTSMSACT and UTPDFVTTC respectively, being evidently impossible to use.

Conclusions

Like many new domains of science, computing technology and data processing automation (= datamation) involve a great volume of knowledge, a huge volume of information and implicitly a high traffic of specialized terms. In order to facilitate the decoding of all messages emitted by different emitters, a standardization would be necessary, both in English and in Romanian ; all specialized messages — abbreviated or not — should be standardized according to objective, well — defined criteria, and specialized glossaries and dictionaries should be formulated, to help the conveyance of correct information.

Psycholinguists should embark upon serious research aiming at establishing these objective criteria. Once established, they would do away with mechanical learning of messages emitted in the code of a foreign language, would facilitate decoding of messages by decreasing the effort of memorizing and pronouncing them, implicitly increasing the speed of conveyance.

With a wiew towards establishing these criteria, psycholinguists should especially direct their attention towards studying the level of receivers who are actually of very different degrees of knowledge, and then only towards the levels of emitters who are somehow at the same level. To the latter, psycholinguists ought to be able to offer in the end these objective criteria that should be taken into account when emitting new messages.

From the point of view of the contrastive linguistics, a deeper study of the code of the language used in the texts of this particular domain would supply interesting data concerning contrastive aspects (Romanian — English) involved in the complex process of translating and abbreviating such specialized messages. The difficulties that appear when attempting to translate highly synthetical English messages into Romanian deserve further studies.

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ROMANIAN AND ENGLISH STOPS : A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

HORTENSIA PÂRLOG

The stop phoneme system comprises three homotopical pairs in each of the two languages :

bilabial	E. alveolar R, dental	velar
p b	t d	k g

At the theoretical level, the contrastive analysis of the stop systems of Romanian and English reveals the following facts :

1. Romanian pairs are opposed through voicing, while tenseness is a redundant feature ; in English, the tense — lax opposition is distinctive, while voicing is concomitant. This was proved by the results of the experiments conducted by A. Avram for the Romanian language [1], and by L. G. Jones, among others, for English [2].

2. English lax stops may be only partially voiced or completely voiceless in initial and especially final positions. (p) and (b), for example, are distinguished mainly on the basis of the tense — lax opposition. Romanian voiced stops, redundantly lax, are also subjected to partial devocalization in initial and especially final positions [3]. It seems however that the distinctive cue which helps Romanians differentiate between the members of a minimal pair, one ending in (p), the other in (b), is still the opposition between the presence and the absence of voice in the articulation of the final sounds.

3. Romanian voiceless stops are unaspirated, while the English tense series is accompanied by aspiration in initial position, before a vowel, in a stressed syllable. (l, r, w, j), following initial aspirated tense stops

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[1] A. Avram, *Cercetări asupra sonorității în limba română*. Ed. Acad. R.S.R., București, 1961, p. 113and foll.

[2] R. Jakobson, G. M. Fant, M. Halle, *Preliminaries to Speech Analysis*, MIT Press, 6th printing, 1965, p. 38.

[3] Cf. S. Pușcariu, *Considerațiuni asupra sistemului fonetic și fonologic al limbii române*, *Dacoromania*, VII, 1931—1933, p. 22.

A. Lombard, *La Prononciation du Roumain*, Uppsala, 1935, pp. 137, 140.

A. Avram, *op. cit.*

suffer devoicing. Initial aspiration seems to be a stronger cue for tense stops in English than lack of voicing[4].

4. Romanian stops (t, d) have a dental articulation ; the English pair has an alveolar articulation.

5. The phoneme distribution is richer for Romanian initial stops ; English final stop clusters display a greater variety of combinations than Romanian ones[5]. Stops may be followed by any vowel in initial position in either language. In final position, English (p) cannot be preceded by (u), (b) cannot be preceded by (u) and (i :), (g) by (u) and (a). Romanian (b, g) are not preceded by (e), and (p, b, k, g) by (i).

Initial stop + C

→	l	r	n	w	j	f	s	v	t
p	0 +	0 +	+	+	0	+	+		
b	0 +	0 +		+	0				
t		0 +		0 +	0				
d		0 +		0 +	0				
k	0 +	0 +	+	0 +	0 +		+	+	+
g	0 +	0 +	+	0 +	0 +			+	

+ R.

0 E.

Final — C + stop

↓	l	m	n	r	s	z	p	b	k	g	f	v	ʃ	ʒ	tʃ	dʒ	θ	ð	ŋ
p	0 +	0 +		+	0														
b	0 +	0 +		+															
t	0 +	0 +	0 +	+	0 +		0 +		0 +		0 +		0 +		0		0		
d	0 +	0	0 +	+		0 +		0 +		0 +		0		0 +		0		0	0
k	0 +		+	+	0 +								+						
g	+		+	+															

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[4] Cf. A. C. Gimson, *An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English*, Edward Arnold (Fublishers), London, 1972, p. 153.

J. Lotz, A. S. Abramson, L. Gherstman, F. Ingeman, W. Nemser, *The Perception of English Stops by Speakers of English, Spanish, Hungarian, and Thai : a Tape-cutting Experiment*, Language and Speech, vol. 3, 1960, p. 71—77.

[5] Only initial and final single stops and two member clusters following and preceding silence were dealt with.

The contrastive analysis suggests the following predictions :

1. Since tenseness and voicing have a different status in the two languages, errors may arise from the evaluation of English stop pairs from the point of view of the feature distinctive in Romanian (voicing).

2. Few errors are expected ; an English lax stop, redundantly voiced, may be correctly interpreted by a Romanian speaker as voiced ; an English tense stop, redundantly voiceless, may be correctly interpreted as voiceless. It will be extremely difficult for the analyst to decide whether the correct evaluation of an English stop is due to the correct interpretation of the distinctive tense — lax feature or to the fact that the tense — lax feature is very often accompanied by the voiced — voiceless feature, distinctive in Romanian (i.e. covert interference).

3. The presence or the absence of aspiration in the pronunciation of English initial (p, t, k) is not expected to influence the evaluation of the English stop pairs by the Romanian speakers. They are differentiated exclusively on the basis of the voiced — voiceless feature, pertinent in Romanian. According to the theory, initial (p, t, k) uttered without aspiration by a Romanian speaker will be perceived as lax by English listeners. Devoiced (l, r, w, j), following initial aspirated stops will be hard to perceive and produce.

In order to investigate the interpretation of the English stops by Romanian speakers of English, two perception and two production tests were used, in which the sounds under study occur initially and finally in the following contexts :

— V, # — l, # — r, # — w, V — #, l — #, m — #, n — #, s/z —

A. Perception

1. An identification test was used : subjects were required to listen to 388 nonsense monosyllables arranged in minimal pairs, and recorded on magnetic tape, and to write what they heard. The items were divided into two test parts, given at a week's interval ; the first dealt with 220 items specifically devised to contain stops in initial position, while the second (168 items) contained them in final position. They will be referred to as tests A and C, in the order of the sessions when they were administered.

2. In the second perception test, of discrimination, subjects were asked to identify the item which differed minimally from other three in a set of four English nonsense syllables, by encircling its number on an answer sheet. 126 such sets were tape-recorded. They were also presented in two sessions and are consequently referred to as tests B and D. During the first session, 52 sets constructed with initial stops were listened to, and during the second, 72 sets, with final stops.

The following table indicates the distribution of the stops within tests A and C.

	A				C				
	#—V	#—l	#—r	#—w	V—#	l—#	m—#	n—#	s/z—#
p	12	12	12		10	6	6		6
t	12		12	8	10	6	6	6	6
k	12	12	12	6	10	6			6
b	12	12	12		10	6	6		6
d	12		12	8	10	6	6	6	6
g	12	12	12	6	10	6			6

All the recordings were made by a native speaker of American English.

The subjects were 13 in number :

— 11 university students specializing in English (one of them gave up, so there were only ten for two of the tests), and having Romanian as their mother tongue. Five of them spoke no other foreign language but English ; the others also knew French. They all had a medium level of English proficiency ;

— 2 persons with higher education, having Romanian as their mother tongue, who had taken a four months intensive course of English at Timişoara University, and then had spent ten months in the US.

Results

a) *Interpretation of initial stops*

Test A (220 nonsense monosyllables, 13 subjects)

Two tables summarize the data obtained, one presenting the percentage of all misinterpretations to which a sound was submitted (including "zero" answers, i.e. instances when subjects were unable to respond) (table 1), the other revealing the misinterpretations of the tense — lax feature only (table 2).

Table 1

	#—V	#—l	#—r	#—w
p	14.7	20.5	13.4	
t	12.2		7.7	5.78
k	18	3.8	11.5	10.3
b	43.	65.	62.	
d	54.		58.5	94.
g	57.	93.5		

Table 2

	#—V	#—l	#—r	#—w
p	1.28	9.6	6.4	
t	3.85		3.2	1.92
k	8.4	1.28	6.4	5.15
b	24.5	55.	54.2	
d	40.5		50.2	89.
g	41.6	82.5	63.5	81.

One can notice immediately that the highest proportion of confusions between stop pairs occurs in the interpretation of English lax stops (b,d,g). The percentage of errors is somewhat iower when English lax stops are in initial prevocalic position, but it increases when they occur in clusters.

The lax stop eliciting the greatest number of errors was the velar (single or in combination). The context with the highest incidence of tense — lax confusions was # —r, closely followed by # —w (almost all of the occurrences of *dw*— cluster were perceived as voiceless). There are few instances of tense stops perceived as voiced (lax), although they do occur with each tense stop, especially the velar. One must mention that the correct responses may have been due to the accidental overlapping of the English tense — lax distinctive feature, and the Romanian voicing feature. In the case of the tense consonants, the correct responses may have resulted in (spite of the predication made) from the presence of aspiration in their articulation, which makes them more distinct. However there are cases when the aspiration feature of the tense stops is distorted : in some of the responses the tense bilabial and velar stops are interpreted as fricative (h) ((p)in 1.28 per cent of its occurrences, (kr) the same) or as fricative (f) (pl)>(fl)). Confusions among stops from the point of view of thier place of articulation also occur, but they are negligible and no pattern can be established. (l,r,w) following after aspirated tense stops are some times heard as vowels or mistaken one for the other ((l) for (r), (r) for (w)) ; this happens particularly with (r) in combinations (pr), (kr). *Test C* (50 nonsense "words", 12 subjects).

Of the 168 items making up test C, 50 contained initial prevocalic single stops. Here is their distribution :

	p	t	k	b	d	g
# — V	10	8	8	4	10	10

Their analysis resulted into a confirmation of the main data previously obtained, namely that lax stops are by far most likely to be misinterpreted in this position. The only difference is that this time the bilabial lax stop is definitely the one with the highest error frequency. All occurrences of (t) and (k) were correctly evaluated. 1.67 per cent of the misinterpretations of the tense bilabial are in the direction of (h), due to the presence of aspiration in its articulation.

	p	t	k	b	d	g
# —V	3.3			85.5	61.	40.

Table summarizing all misinterpretations of stops

	p	t	k	b	d	g
# —V	0.83			85.5	61	39.3

Table summarizing tense — lax confusions only

Test B (54 sets of nonsense "words", 12 subjects)

Two types of test items can be distinguished here : one in which the tense phonemes (I), and one in which the lax phonemes (II) occur in the structure of the minimally differing item. The erroneous responses are systematized accordingly, in the following table :

	I			II		
	p	t	k	b	d	g
＃ — V	58.5	50.	33.5	8.35	27.	28.
＃ — l	72.		67.	39.		36.
＃ — r	54.	47.4	55.5	4.18	16.7	64.
＃ — w		67.			19.4	

The greater frequency of errors occurred in the aberrant test items containing an initial tense phoneme (single or in context). The tense feature was heard as the voiced feature, in spite of the fact that it is accompanid by redundant voicelessness and by aspiration.

The confusion of velar lax and tense consonants is nearly equal and the percentage is rather high.

The context subject to most ministerpretations is ＃ —r, shared by all stop consonants, closely followed by ＃ —l.

b) *Interpretation of final stops*

Test C (168 nonsense monosyllables, 12 subjects)

Again two tables are used, one to indicate the frequency of all misinterpretations of English stops (plus instances of "zero" answers) (table 1), the other to indicate only misinterpretations of the tense — lax opposition (table 2).

	Table I					**Table 2**				
	V — ＃	L — ＃	m — ＃	n — ＃	s/z — ＃	V — ＃	L — ＃	m — ＃	n — ＃	s/z — ＃
p	11.6	16.7	32.		11.	10.8	12.5	22.3		9.7
t	15.	47.	30.5	13.9	9.7	11.7	15.3	11.	12.5	8.35
k	21.6	8.35			11.	17.5	4.17			9.7
b	7.5	18.	75.		9.7	7.5	11.	12.5		9.7
d	8.35	13.9	41.7	18.	8.35	4.16	2.76	32.	11.	8.35
g	14.1	23.6			23.6	10.	15.3			19.5

The misinterpretations of tense stops outnumber those of the lax stops (an exception is offered by the lax velar which is heard as voiceless more often than its tense pair is heard as voiced, and by the lax alveolar in the context m— #).

Lax stops are also heard as voiceless, but in a smaller proportion. The context shared by all stop consonants which seems to be causing most of the errors is l— # ; the context m— # , shared only by the alveolar and bilabial stops, is also very productive of errors.

The stop pair occuring in all contexts, whose interpretation is most frequently erroneus, is (t,d).

Local deviations do occur, but they are few in number and cannot be tabulated usefully ; the only constant deviation noticed is that of consonant (g) in the direction of the other two lax stop consonants.

Most of the subjects were unaware of the presence of (l) in the context l— # but this did not influence the correct evaluation of the tense — lax feature of the following stop. Similarly, (b) is not heard at all in more than half of the occurrences of the cluster *mb ;* this may be explained through the scarcity of this consonant combination both in English, and in Romanian.

It is also interesting to remark that although in final position aspiration is rather weak or totally absent, four instances occurred when the alveolar stops were interpreted as followed by (f) or (s).

Test A (108 nonsense monosyllables, 13 subjects)

An analysis of the final postvocalic stops occuring among the items of test A was also perfomed. Of the 220 nonsense "words" employed in test A, 108 ended in stops. Their distribution is shown below :

	p	t	k	b	d	g
V— #	18	34	19	12	16	9

The results indicate that tense stop are clearly those forcing the highest frequency of errors, and from among them the bilabial stop especially. There are also instances of misinterpretations of the lax stops as voiceless, those of the lax bilabial ranging among the highest. The velars are the least liable to be misinterpreted.

	p	t	k	b	d	g
V— #	14.1	10.1	7.7	10.3	5.3	3.4

Table summarizing all misinterpretations of stops.

	p	t	k	b	d	g
V— #	9.45	8.85	4.85	4.5	4.32	3.4

Table summarizing tense — lax confusions

Test D (72 sets of nonsense "words", 12 subjects)

Part I of the next table refers to the sets where the tense stops are the aberrant items, while part II to those where the lax stops are the aberrant items.

A greater frequency of errors is noticed in aberrant forms ending in a tense stop, rather than in a lax one, but the difference is slight.

It is the alveolar stops that are confused more often in this position. The context most productive of errors, although not shared by the velar stops, in m — #.

	I			II		
	p	t	k	b	d	g
V — #	19.4	45.	19.4	22.2	64.	16.2
l — #	22.2	41.6	41.6	13.9	39.	37.5
s/z — #	13.9	33.5	13.[illegible]	16.2	30.6	45.
m — #	87.5	60.		35.2	33.4	
n — #		16.2			25.	

If we compare the results obtained so far, we noticed that :

1. The proportion of erroneous responses is smaller when stops occur in final position, than when they occur in initial position.

2. In initial position, the highest frequency of tense — lax confusions is caused by the lax stops ; in final position — by the tense stops.

3. The stop pair most subject to misinterpretations in initial position was the velar, while in final position it was the alveolar.

4. However, the results of the various tests were not uniform. Thus, on the discrimination test B, administered in connection with the initial stops, it was the tense stops, not the lax ones that caused most misinterpretations. Secondly, it was the bilabial stops (not the velar in initial position, or the alveolar in final position) that caused most errors both initially (no test C, within the analysis of initial stops), and finally (on test A, within analysis of final stops).

B. **Production**

For the production tests, subjects were required to read :

1. 138 nonsense syllables containing initial (test A) and final stops (test B), distributed as follows :

Initial stops (A)

	p	t	k	b	d	g
# — V	4	4	4	4	4	4
# — l	4		4	4		4
# — w			4			4
# — r	4	4	4	4	4	4

Final stops (B)

	p	t	k	b	d	g
V — #	4	4	4	4	4	4
l — #	3	3	3	3	3	3
m — #	3	3		3	3	
n — #		3			3	
s/z — #	2	2	2	2	2	2

All the items in tests A and B ended or began with stop consonants, which were also analysed, as previously (in the case of perception). Their distribution is :

Initial stops in items of test B

	p	t	k	b	d	g
# – V	12	14	14	10	12	10

Final stops in items of test A

	p	t	k	b	d	g
V – #	12	18	10	12	18	2

2. 88 independent, simple, meaningful word, presented in a randomized order, which can be grouped into minimal pairs for the aim of this paper (Test C). They contain stops in pre- and postvocalic positions.

Minimal pairs, initial position :	p b	12
	t d	5
	k g	8
Minimal pairs, final position :	p b	4
	t d	8
	k g	7

Seven subjects of the group presented before were recorded. The recording lasted for about 30 minutes per person, with frequent breaks. This paper presents the renditions of three of them only, as they were interpreted by the safe native speaker of American English who had been recorded for the perception tests.

Results.

Tense — lax confusions of the stops were rather few, so that one commentary will be made only, for all tests.

a) *Interpretation of initial stops*

The sources of most errors are the velar and the bilabial *tense* stops, in the context # —V.

Although tense stops were often underaspirated or completely non-aspirated, they were not interpreted as their lax pairs by the listener in as high a degree as expected. It is interesting that (h) in the word *hat* (test C) pronounced by one of the subjects was heard as (p).

There are many examples of local deviations, more than had occurred on the perception tests : (p) especially was heard as (t), (k) as (t), (pr) as (tr) or (kl) — in the interpretation of the Romanian speakers.

		p	t	k	b	d	g
—V	A	8.3		16.7			
	B	36.a)		4.76	6.7		6.7
	C	1.9		9.6			
—V	A B			8.35b)	8.35c)		25.
—V	A B	25.			16.7		8.35

a) The figure represents only interpretations of (p) as (t).
b) (kl) > (pl)
c) (bl) > (gl)

b) *Interpretation of final stops*

Errors occur more frequently in final position than in initial position. It is the lax phonemes, not the tense ones that cause most mistaken responses, and from among them, the bilabial and the velar stops. The context /V— / is more productive of errors than the consonantal clusters. Local deviations are also noticeable, but they are fewer in number than in initial position. (e.g. (t) > (k), (k) > (t), (b) > (k) (g) > (d,t)). It is worth mentioning that (t) in the pronunciaiton of the Romanian subjects was interpreted as the tense alveolar stop by the native speaker of A.E. in *peach* and *beach* (test C).

		p	t	k	b	d	g
V—	B	16.7		25.	33.3	25.	66.6
	A	5.6	5.6	3.33	47.2	22.2	67.
	C	25.	16.7	14.3	16.7	37.5	9.55
l—	B						
	A			22.2	33.3	22.2	22.2
m—	B						
	A	22.2			55.6	44.5	
n—	B						
	A					22.2	
s/z—	B						
	A	16.7		16.7			33.3

1. A real pattern of misinterpretations emerges out of the comparison of the results of the perception and the production tests :

	Initial	Final
Per.	— lax stops — higher error rate	— tense stops — lower error rate
Pro.	— tense stops — lower error rate	— lax stops — higher error rate

2. The majority of errors are caused by the mistaken interpretation of the tense — lax feature.

3. It is the lax stops that cause the greatest parts of tense — lax confusions in initial position on the perception tests, and in final position on the production tests. On the contrary, it is the tense stops that cause most of the confusions in final position on the perception tests, and in initial position on the production tests.

4. On both the perception and the production tests, the lax feature was more productive of errors than the tense feature.

5. The role of aspiration remains indeterminate for the perception of English stops by Romanian speakers ; the absence of aspiration in the pronunciation of English stops by Romanian speakers does not seem to affect communication.

6. More errors than expected occurred. On the production tests, the error rate in initial postion is lower than anticipated.

7. The great percentage of correct interpretations may be simply the result of the overlapping of the Romanian distinctive feature and the English redundant one (voicing).

8. The members of the velar stop pair especially, and those of the bilabial one were confused to a rather high degree on both perception and production tests.

9. The contexts yielding more erroneous responses vary on the different tests. However, on the production tests, it is mostly the prevocalic and the postvocalic stops that produce errors.

10. No consistent connection could be established between the distribution of the studied consonants in the two languages and the frequency of the errors made.

11. It seems that most of the errors were produced by the discrimination test used for the perception of the sounds. The fewest mistakes occurred in the production of meaningful utterances.

The results obtained are one more proof that the contrastive analysis of two languages is incomplete if it limits itself to the theoretical level.

THE INTERRELATION BETWEEN LANGUAGE AND PROSODY : A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF PROSODIC ELEMENTS IN ROMANIAN AND ENGLISH

ION FUNERIU and SILVIU PEPELEA

1. In approaching the literary text we are aware of the fact that an expressive element is always the result of a choice / a word or a syntagm / from among possibilities latently existing in language. This choice is conditioned by the context and consequently the selection will correspond to the author's *artistic intention* / since he prefers the most expressive term from a synonymic group /.

Having poetry / with rhythm, measure, rhyme / under consideration we shall witness a concomitant second choice determined by the rules of vesification. Tht authors of the present paper have focused their attention on the language of poetry pointing out the prosodic requirements, as well as the devices used by the poet to make this language fit in the metric patterns.

Thus we distinguish two poetic intentions : *the artistic intention* and the *prosodic intention*. Since the demands of prosody are constant, operating as a permanent necessity, the authors use the term *prosodic necessity* to describe these demands.

Similarities and differences, choices from among prosodic possibilities specific to each language / Romanian and English / are then given at length.

2. In Romanian the pronoun — subject / first and second person singular and plural / may or may not be expressed, as person and number are expressed in the verb ending. This has of course interesting effects in versification as far ar "measure" is concerned ;

e.g.	*eu* + verb	*eu cînt*	/2 syllables/
	x + verb	x *cînt*	/1 syllable/

Quotation

„Nu caut vorbe pe ales
Nici *știu* cum a începe
Deși vorbești pe înțeles,
Eu nu te *pot* pricepe"

Mihai Eminescu, *Luceafărul*

The Romanian language as a synthetical language operates with a rich inflectional system, having at its disposal an important well of prosodic availabilities. English, mainly an analytical language, does not prossess such metric choices since it hardly has any inflections at all Thus the subject must be expressed.

However the subjects "you", sg. pl., and "it," may somentimes be deliberately used in their asyllabic forms :

Quotation :

> "Superiority to fate
> Is difficult to learn.
> *'Tis* not conferred by any
> But possible to earn"

Emily Dickinson, *Poems*

Quotation :

> "Could I revive within me
> Her symphatly and song,
> To such a deep delight *'t* would win me"

S. T. Coleridge, ***Kubla Khan***

Compare :

it is — 'tis
it would — 't would

Very often in dialect poetry the pronunciation of "you" is reduced to the semivowel [j] a fact graphically marked as well :

> 'Po' little lamb
> Y' ought to have a right good slap
> Po' little lamb"

P. L. Dunbar, *Lullaby*

a) *you ought*
b) *y' ought*

In Romanian the auxiliary "*a fi*" may be used in its 3 variants

1. "i" = asyllabic, phonetically integrated in the accompanying lexcal element and
2. *"e" /îi"/* = monosyllabic verb
3. *"este'* bisyllabic verb

All these variants may be handled by the poet so that they may cover the form required by the rhythm, measure of rhyme.

e.g. "Afară-*i* toamnă, frunză-mprăștiată
Iar vîntul zvîrle-n geamuri grele picuri"

Mihai Eminescu, *Sonete*

or

"Cînd bunul trai *e* ținta la care se aspiră
Cînd orice *este* nobil ne lasă reci și muți. . .

Alexandru Macedonski, *Accente intime*

The asyllabic forms of auxiliaries / *to be, to have, to do* / are numberless examples of prosodic possibilities in English. Compare the syllabic structur.e of the following :

who have — who've
I am — I'm
do you → d'you
it will — it'll

e.g. "How much the present moment means
To those *who've* nothing more"

E. Dickinson, *Poems*

Among the above mentioned examples the form *it'll* — is typical of the closed — type syllable — system in English. Unlike in Romanian, we may have syllables made up of consonants only : "l", "m", "n", in syllabic unaccented positions :

It'*ll*
rhyth*m*
frighte*n*

One of the most important prosodic possibilities in English is the wide usage of the various "do-forms'. Sometimes "do" is used "to complete" a verse / by creating an additional syllable / or "to help a rhyme":

e.g. "While expletives their feeble aid *do* join
And ten low words oft creep in one dull line"

Al. Pope, ***Essay on Criticism***

Both in colloquial speech and in poetry, *to do* is often used to give an emphatic value to another verb.

"I *don't say* one bodies the other
But *I do say* it's hard to lose either"

Philip Larkin, *Toads*

The artistic intention and the prosodic necessity are interwoven in the examples above :

artistic intention	*prosodic necessity*
— emphasis	— measure / an additional syllable
— verbal opposition	/ do join /
positive + negative	— rhythm

Compare : *I don't say* /3 syllables/ — *I do say* /3/
nu spun *eu spun*

It is worth noticing that originally "to do" was used with other verbs in the affirmative for the simple tenses. It is still retained where the pronoun and the verb change places or in the emphatic form of the present and past indicative.

The following negative verbal variants are to be found in English :
"speak not"
"do not speak"
"don't speak"
ready to help the measure, the rhythm or the rhyme.

e.g. "Speak not — whisper *not*
Here bloweth thyme and berga*mot*"

Walter de la Mare, *The Sunken Garden*

The variants *do not whisper* and *don't whisper* meet neither the metric requirements nor the rhyme.

The omission of the auxiliary *do* in the negative forms of the verbs hes been preserved in poetry. In modern English the three possibilities represent as many choices for the poets Anne Sexton, R. Conquest and Longfellow :

e.g.

1. "I'm tired of faces that *I don't know*
2. "In sex *I donnot dither* more than either...
   Nor should I now swell to hallo the names
   Of feelings that no one needs to remember"
3. "I shot an arrow into the air,
   It fell to earth *I knew not* where"

Besides the auxiliaries there are grammatical words in English including the most frequent words displayed in both strong and weak forms.

articles : *a, an, the*
pronouns : *he, she, that*
conjunctions and prepositions : *and, but, in, at, from, of, to.*

Here are examples of asyllabic articles and prepositions and the impact of their forms upon the measure of the verse :

"Blessed is the man who hath not walked astray
In counsel of the wicked and *i'* the way
Of sinners hath not stood, and *in* the sea"...

J. Milton, *Paradise Lost*

or :

"To quell *the* miqhty of *the* earth ,*th*'oppressor"

"Th" is also used in order to avoid the repetition of [ð] combined with the same vowel-sound.

Generally speaking, the widespread lexical elements have several phonetic variants „ diachronically and synchronically /, *archaic* or *dialectal phonetic variants.* These forms may be handled so as to satisfy the demands of measure, rhythm or rhyme.

e.g.

"Pe atunci erai tu singur încît mă-ntreb în *sine-mi*
Au cine-i zeul cărui plecăm a noastre *inemi*"

M. Eminescu, *Rugăciunea unui dac*

It is true that this archaic phonetic variant also possesses an *evocative* power, but meanwhile the rhyme could not have been achieved by using the common form "inimi".

The past participles "got" and "gotten" had once both been interchangeably used. The prosodic intention is obvious in the example :

e.g.

"They that hae gotten young Tom Line
Hae got a stately groom"
/*The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*/

Child, editor, *Young Tom Line*

On the other hand "forgot" and "forgotten" have survived to the present day A.E. the former no more in use in B.E. /.

Byron *used the archaic form for the sake of rhyme*

"Childe Harold had a mother-not *forgot*
A sister whom he loved but saw her *not*"

Byron, *Child Harold's Pilgrimage*

At the end of the line the archaic *forgot* is endowed with maximum authority ; curious enough is the reverse of British practice in the case of the verb *"get"* where *"got"* is the preferred form and *gotten* is considered archaic.

Regional words are well represented in the Romanian poetry. As a rule they create a rustic atmosphere adding intensity to the emotional effect. However, there are instances when such dialectisms are attracted by metric necessities.

e.g. "trebe" for "trebuie" as used by Mihai Beniuc in one of his poems :

"Am bucurat pe mulți dar nu destui
Am supărat dar nu așa cum *trebe*
În zilele-mi, cămile mari cu *ghebe*
Din cînd in cînd pieriră în deșert"

This double choice, observing both the artistic intention and the prosodic demads, is clearly put forth by Omar Barker in the following stanza :

"hoss" for "horse"

e.g.

"Talk straight, shoot stright and never break
Your word to man nor *boss.*
Plumb always kill a rattle snake
Don't ride a sorebacked *hoss*"

O. Barker, *Code of the Cow Country*

The regional pronunciation /hɔs/ is also graphically marked : it is interesting to note that the only regionalism *hoss* in the whole poem really creates the atmosphere of "the Iron horse and gun smoke" and meanwhile gives the rhyme for "boss".

If the archaic and regional pronunciations are of an outstanding importance in the Romanian prosody, the R. P. variants for the same English word are of much moment in the English metrical system /especially in rhyme/

e.g. poor [puə] [pɔə] [pɔ:]
shore [ʃɔə] [ʃɔ:]
door [dɔə[dɔ:]

as in

> "Give me your tired, your *poor*
> The wreched refuse of your teeming *shore*
> I left my lamp beside the golden *door*"

Emma Lazarus, ***Inscription on the Statue of Liberty***

Thus, in English we may have a rich choice from among several *literary phonetic variants* of the same word which is indeed an important rhyme-making element.

On the other hand the Romanian prosody in characterized by the great frequency of *accentual doublets* / exceptions being the instances when the stress is shifted from its usual seat because of an emotional motivation/.

In poetry the presence of such doublets is first and foremost required by the prosodic necessity. English as well as Romanian are both characterized as *free accent languages*

e.g.

> "Nu te juca de-a bléstemul părinte
> Că este foc blestémul și nu minte"

T. Arghezi, ***Frunzele tale***

The two accentual variants cannot be interchangeably used because of the rhythmic pattern

1/ ⊥ ∪ ∪ 2/ ∪ ⊥ ∪

The same is to be noticed in the following lines by Longfellow :

> "Then up and spake an old sailòr
> I pray thee put into yonder port. . .",

where the rhythm is firmly kept to the very end. Both poets marked the unusual shift of the accent showing their prosodic intention which comes to be again and again a necessity. However rhythmic patterns are sometimes deliberately employed in a free way within the same poem growing from an intentionally poor pattern *to* utmost firmness. Here is an exquisite e.g. from Tennyson's "Guinevere"

"So said my father, and himself was knight
Of the great Table — at the founding of it,
And rode thereto from Lyonnesse ; and he said
That as he rode, an hour or maybe twain
After the sunset, down the coast, he heard
Strange music, and he paused ,and turning — there
All down the lonely coast of Lyonnesse,
Each with a bacon-star upon his head,
And with a wilde sea-light about his feet,
He saw them — headland after headland flame,
Far on, into the rich heart of the west"

Let D. Gilbert Murray the author of "The Classical Tradition in Poetry" comment on this passage :

"That is constructed so, as to lead from "babble' to serious and misterious beauty. Lines 1 to 3 babble : rhythm intentionally poor, but varied in each ; 4, rather babbly with its "hour or maybe twain after sunset" but a growing interest in the tale and firmness in the metre ; 6, firm metre, but much held back by pause, to lead up to 7, perfectly firm and smooth ; 9, similar increasing beauty of rhythm and tension of expectation, since we do not yet know what noun these descriptive lines are referring to ; 10, tension resolved, "headland after headland", strong end on "flare" ; 11, tension relaxed in musical distance".

The problem of *word order* is one that does offer possibilities for a prosodic contrastive analysis. Romanian is a free word-order language and therefore / in this respect / it possesses more prosodic possibilities than English does. We shall deal here with one problem that frequently appears in versification : the adherent and the appositive position of the epithet in relation to its head-word.

e.g. *tainică lumină*
lumină tainică

The Romanian Epithet + Determinatum or D + E syntagm is preferred by one of the rhythmic patterns as in the lines below :

"O ! vis ferice de iubire / mireasă blîndă din povești
Cu-a gurii tale calde șoapte, / cu-mbrățișări de brațe reci"

vis ferice
ferice vis

In English the primary position for an epithet is before the noun :

1. E + D : "varying verse"

or

2. D + E : "energy divine", under the influence of the popular poetry and partially under the influence of French and Latin poetry an

E. may stand after the head-word it qualifies / also in a few phrases that have been taken over from French or Latin : "times immemorial"/, mainly for prsodic reasons :

E D
"The varying verse, the full *resounding line*
The long majestic march, and *energy divine*"
D E

Al. Pope, ***Essay on Criticism***

Compare :

majestic march
energy divine
divine energy

3. D + E and E is another possibility to meet one of the prosodic requirements : *rhyme.*

e.g. "There's many a man with a *face fine* and *fair*
D + E + E
Who starts out in life with a chance to be *square*"
Billy the Bud

The artistic intention and prosodic necessity are also marvelously achieved by this detached hendyadis :

4. Sometimes even E + D + E is used :

e.g. "Or flocks, or herds, or *human face divine*"
E D E

Milton, *Paradise Lost*

human face divine
divine human face

The contrastive analysis of Romanian and English prosody has both a theoretical and a practical importance. It reveals the similarities and differences in the choices from among /phonetic and grammatical/ possibilities specific to each language ; a comprehensive contrastive study would also be of real help in translating poetry from Romanian into English and from English into Romanian.

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